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Brussels Nato summit: outlook overcast



The ease with which Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Genscher seem, on their visit to Washington, to have averted a serious upset in German-American relations came as a surprise even to experienced diplomats.

Yet while Helmut Kohl was hailed as the hero of the day in Washington by Secretary of State Shultz, officials at Bonn's Nato embassy in Brussels were not looking forward to the March summit meeting of Nato heads of government in the Belgian capital.

They did not have visions of the Federal Republic being "singularised" as a nuclear battlefield in the event of war. They foresaw Bonn being left out on a limb in a much more immediate context:

"Apart from the Scandinavians and the Greeks we are the only Nato country that is opposed to the modernisation of short-range nuclear weapons."

Washington and the overwhelming majority of Nato countries were agreed by mid-February that the Montebello resolution to modernise short-range weapons in connection with the reduction in number of US warheads in Europe from 7,000 to 4,600 must go ahead as planned.

Otherwise the North Atlantic pact's strategy of flexible response to an attack would be called into question.

Britain's Margaret Thatcher, whose idea the full-scale Nato summit was, mainly envisaged the gathering as an opportunity for declaring the "third zero option" (in respect of short-range nuclear weapons) and the "denuclearisation of Europe" to be stone dead.

Yet two days after Mrs Thatcher, in Brussels on a visit to Nato headquarters, dismissed as absurd the German idea of including shorter-range nuclear weapons in the terms of reference of the proposed East-West talks on conventional troop cuts, Herr Kohl and Herr Genscher, in Washington for talks with Mr Reagan, scored their point against the modernisation of these weapon systems.

US Nato ambassador Alton Keel let the cat out of the bag by noting that modernisation was now on ice "at least until the state assembly elections" (in Baden-Württemberg and Schleswig-Holstein).

But Herr Kohl and Herr Genscher are not just worried about the possibility of a fresh missile modernisation debate in the Federal Republic.

In connection with the meeting Chancellor Kohl hopes to hold with the Soviet leader they are worried by hints from the Kremlin that Moscow sees modernisation of Nato's short-range nuclear missiles as a circumvention of the superpowers' INF treaty scrapping land-based medium-range missiles.

Modernisation of the 88 Lance missiles in the Federal Republic will not be a serious prospect for several years. Besides, they are lined up against between 500 and 770 short-range East bloc missiles.

As for the modernisation of nuclear field artillery shells (with ranges of less than 50km), Nato C-in-C General John Galvin recently stated in an interview that it is already under way.

CDU/CSU parliamentary party leader Alfred Dregger and SPD disarmament expert Egon Bahr, who have long agreed on the steamhammer argument "the shorter the range, the deader the Germans," ought to be most alarmed at the modernisation of nuclear artillery.

Herr Genscher has sought to do both men justice by trying, so far in vain, to have short-range nuclear weapons included in the terms of reference of Nato preparations for conventional troop cut talks.

Nato has still to present an official concept in response to a Warsaw Pact offer that includes the carrot of an *admission that imbalances exist* and need to be remedied.

Just before the New Year the Nato countries reached arduous agreement on the formula that "mutual non-aggres sion capability" must be aimed at in the negotiations.

Yet that leaves the principle of "forward defence" at the intra-German border, an indispensable principle from Bonn's point of view, somewhat illusory for lack of a Western counter-attack capability.

Even so, Nato is largely agreed that in addition to manpower and unit reductions in specific disarmament areas from the Atlantic to the Urals negotiations must aim at reducing to approximate parity the number of tanks, armoured combat vehicles, artillery and combat helicopters, i.e. "offensive weapons," on both sides.

This roughly tallies with the Warsaw Pact proposal, which includes arms with a dual role, both nuclear and conventional, in the categories proposed for tabling.

These extra categories mainly include artillery and combat aircraft. Nato objects to their inclusion with the argument that negotiations would be made particularly difficult by the fact that large airborne units can be swiftly transferred.

Above all, it says, verification of the elimination of nuclear artillery warheads and aircraft bombs would be virtually impossible.

In principle Britain and France are agreed with American in raising fundamental objections to a total elimination of nuclear weapons.

They would have misgivings even if an approximate balance of power were to be struck with due consideration for geographical asymmetry (US reinforcements would need to be flown 6,000km across the Atlantic, whereas Soviet reinforcements from east of the Urals would travel a shorter distance overland).

France has from the outset been unhappy about Nato preparations for talks on disarmament "from the Atlantic to the Urals." French misgivings are entirely different from German fears.

Nuclear weapons are the only symbol by which France maintains a "strong" distinction from the economically predominant Federal Republic in Western Europe.

Britain's Margaret Thatcher holds a similar view, as Chancellor Kohl has largely realised.

He flew to Washington with a policy of "no denuclearisation, merely a negotiated reduction of shorter-range nuclear weapons to a low level of parity."

Mrs Thatcher feels even this goes too fear. Once you start negotiating about weapons of this kind, she argues, you will sooner or later end up with denuclearisation.

Erich Hauser

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 24 February 1988)

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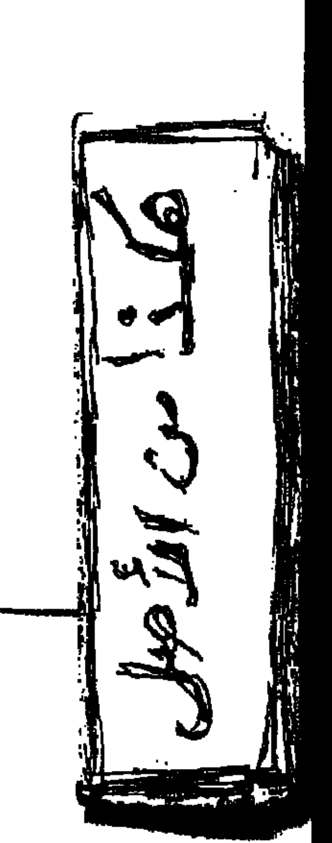
European Community and Latin American Foreign Ministers in Hamburg, where Bonn's Hans-Dietrich Genscher promised European aid to Central America. Herr Genscher, left, is here seen with Irmgard Adam-Schwaetzer and Claude Cheysson, European commissioner for North-South relations. (Photo: dpa)

Seoul Olympics fans in Mainz

Marianne von Weizsäcker waves her fan with a smile for the camera at the Sports Ball in Mainz. Chancellor Helmut Kohl (left) and her husband Richard, head of state, look on quizzically. (Photo: AP)

■ MIDDLE EAST

Unrest in the West Bank and Gaza Strip underlines poor peace prospects



Israel is a country fast being transformed from a dream to a trauma. For months the same shocking pictures have been flashed round the world daily.

Young Israeli soldiers are seen shooting at young Palestinian stone-throwers, Israelis beating up Palestinians, breaking hands and arms, breaking and entering houses and venting blind hatred on detainees.

These outbreaks of illegal violence have grown so bad that the chief public prosecutor in Jerusalem has complained to the Defence Minister.

Sixty Palestinians have so far been killed, hundreds injured. It can't go on, everyone agrees. But what is to be done if no-one can bring this senseless violence to a halt?

Those who know Israel from days of old will hardly recognise it today. Since the riots began in early December hopes of Israelis and Palestinians, kindred peoples, one day peacefully coexisting have progressively been dashed.

Shock and horror about such excesses of brutal vengeance have particularly upset Israel's friends, who still recall how fairly Israeli officers commented on the Egyptian army in Sinai after their lightning victory over Egypt in 1967.

Israeli officers were then full of human sympathy and sorrowful compassion. Hatred, contempt and anger now reign supreme.

Israel is no longer Israel. This bitter conclusion is one that even many Israelis have reached in recent weeks.

A further conclusion is that what began six years ago with the humiliating invasion of Lebanon is now continuing in the occupied territories, in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and demonstrating with increasing clarity that Israel cannot keep the peace solely by means of military power.

Diplomacy faces a doubly difficult task where even the use of force has failed, as US Secretary of State Shultz was bound to appreciate.

Mr Shultz has set out on a diplomatic shuttle round the Middle East: to Jerusalem, Cairo, Amman and maybe Damascus. He is a veteran of half a dozen such ventures.

This shuttle, probably his last, is doomed to failure. In November America will elect a new President; in the same month, if not earlier, Israel will go to the polls to elect a new Parliament.

Nothing and no-one will make the least move in the meantime. All the signs in the Middle East are clearly marked "stop" — and likely to stay in the "stop" position for some time.

This point was impressed on Mr Shultz with sobering clarity in the run-up to his farewell mission when both President Mubarak of Egypt and Premier Shamir of Israel withdrew their latest peace proposals.

President Mubarak had suggested a six-month "truce" in the occupied territories and a ban on new Jewish settlements, to be followed by an international peace conference.



Premier Shamir mooted a resumption of talks on self-government for the Palestinians pending a pro-forma summit meeting.

Both proposals were hastily withdrawn. Neither side is keen on getting down to brass tacks with the other at present. Neither has the least hope of common sense or understanding prevailing.

What is to be done? Should we wait until the unrest subsides? In a month or two the flames of Palestinian protest may well have been snuffed out, but Israel would not by any means have found peace.

Israeli voters may well decide clearly in favour of a Labour government in November, but that alone will not decide whether Israel can live in peace with its neighbours in the long term.

After all that has happened, first in Lebanon and now in the occupied territories, it no longer even seems realistic to expect a just and lasting settlement in the Middle East to be reached this century.

The Middle East conflict is, incidentally, the longest-standing dispute in modern history. It is as old as the State of Israel, which is celebrating its fortieth anniversary in two months' time.

No-one, not even in his wildest dreams, can seriously imagine an end to this permanent state of war.

Were an Israeli government to decide to withdraw its forces unilaterally and in full to behind the June 1967 borders, it would probably not remain in power for more than a few days.

There would be an uprising in Israel. Thousands of the 70,000-odd Jewish settlers in the West Bank would take to arms to defend themselves from expulsion — against Israeli soldiers if need be.

The occupied Palestinian territories have long been annexed in all but name, and they were annexed long before the Likud block came to power.

Moshe Dayan, Defence Minister in 1967 and the hero of the Six Days' War, first committed this "all-or-nothing" political sin.

He complacently awaited phone calls from Cairo and Amman, and when they didn't come the Israelis dug in on the West Bank. Their bargaining point, the occupied territories, became a time-bomb.

Were the occupation by Jewish settlers and the Israeli armed forces to continue for a further 20 years, demographic trends would change the face of the country.

At present Israel has 1.5 million Arabs, 3.5 million Jews and roughly 750,000 Israeli Arabs. But the birth-rate differential would transform Israel into a binational state, with Palestinian homelands surrounded by armed Israeli settlements.

The outcome would be Zionism by the square metre, a far cry from the quality envisaged, and initially practised, by Israel's founding fathers.

The beacon the Zionists aimed to light for the world in their State of Israel would be snuffed out, one day leaving a Jewish state little different from many another in the Middle East.

Were the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to be vacated without a flare-up and a Palestinian state to be miraculously set up, either independently or in federation with Jordan, it wouldn't necessarily be a state at peace, either domestic or external.

Hardly anyone can imagine the various PLO factions, each totally at loggerheads with the other, coming to terms.

No-one can imagine Jordan, with its overwhelmingly Palestinian population, long resisting the pressure from this new state without resorting to violence in its turn.

No-one can imagine terrorist raids in Israel and Jordan by extremist underground groups suddenly coming to an end.

It would remain to be seen whether Palestinians who have lived for centuries in Hebron and Nablus would be prepared to accept Palestinian refugees who have lived elsewhere for 40 years.

It would remain to be seen whether Syria and Jordan are prepared to tolerate a separate state of Palestine as a neighbour. The test would be fraught with danger.

It would be utterly wishful thinking to imagine the two superpowers might one day reach agreement and impose a settlement on both Israel and the Arabs, arguably backed by UN guarantees.

Even assuming they were in a position to enforce an imposed settlement, Washington would never jeopardise its special relationship with Israel to such an extent, particularly in view of the influential Jewish lobby in the United States, while Moscow is in no position to dictate concessions and compromises to Israel.

Does that leave no hope? Or might another Arab statesman make the first courageous move, as President Sadat did in 1977?

President Sadat had the uncommon courage to fly to Jerusalem and then, with US assistance, to make peace with Israel. But the comparison is no help. The West Bank is not Sinai.

The West Bank is home to a separate people, not to mention a substantial number of Israeli settlers who aim to defend it as their God-given home, come what may, while Palestinian refugees see the West Bank as the nucleus of a Palestinian state.

President Sadat's fate is likely to deter anyone from seeking to emulate him. He was assassinated for his exemplary courage.

Even the worst possible option, a fresh war, would bring about no change in the dreadful status quo on the Jordan.

This realisation strangely tallies with the "war of stones" waged by young Palestinians and the "sticks against stones" overused by young Israeli soldiers.

Not even violence brings about prog-

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Delaying tactics censured by Foreign Office Minister

Bonn feels Israel's delaying tactics in connection with a settlement to the Middle East conflict are largely to blame for Palestinian unrest in the occupied territories.

Helmut Schäfer, Minister of State at the Bonn Foreign Office, says the riots in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip prove that peace and quiet there are as illusory as the idea that accumulated problems will solve themselves in time.

Addressing a North-South forum in Bonn, Herr Schäfer said he was convinced Israel had lost control of the situation and that only an international conference on the Middle East was likely to lead to a working settlement.

He reminded the Israeli government that peace in the region could not be brought over the Palestinians' heads. They must play a part in any peace settlememnt.

Understandable though bids to bring about bilateral agreements might be, there could be no disregarding the fact that the Camp David formulas were outmoded.

Herr Schäfer noted that the Euro-



pean Community was willing to contribute toward a peaceful settlement of the conflict based on a balance being struck between Israel's right to survival and the Palestinians' right to self-determination.

A year ago the European Community had reaffirmed in Brussels that in its view an international peace conference under the UN aegis was a suitable framework for negotiations.

He regretted that views still differed within the Israeli government and that Premier Shamir had again categorically ruled out a withdrawal from the occupied territories.

This attitude, he felt, enjoyed little or no international support, which was why Bonn welcomed the constructive part played by Foreign Minister Peres and other Israelis.

What now mattered was to ensure that Israel was not internationally iso-

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■ DEFENCE

Arms build-up belies fine Soviet words

General-Anzeiger

Gorbachov fans in the West are so euphoric about glasnost they can no longer see plain facts and are taken in by the Soviet leader's skilful rhetoric and astute showmanship.

Or so senior Bundeswehr officers fear, preferring to stick to hard facts. For them tanks, helicopters and warships count for more than the finest words about changes in Soviet policy.

Bonn Defence Ministry officials are convinced Soviet military strategy has remained offensive under Mr Gorbachov. This view was endorsed by the findings of the 1987 armed forces comparison.

The 47-page report concludes that despite assurances to the contrary Soviet military leaders continue to aim at dividing the West, decoupling the United States from Western Europe and undermining Nato's deterrent strategy by denuclearising Europe.

Even now agreement has been reached on scrapping medium-range nuclear missiles Bonn Defence Minister Manfred Wörner and his staff see no specific ray of hope that the Warsaw Pact might reduce its efforts, especially in the conventional sector.

"The Soviet build-up of military power continues unabated in both the nuclear and the conventional sector," Herr Wörner told this year's Munich international defence congress.

The German Defence Minister, who is due to take over from Britain's Lord Carrington in mid-1988 as Nato secretary-general, sees the East's conventional superiority, and not nuclear systems, as the real security problem.

According to the armed forces comparison, which supersedes 1984 figures, East Bloc armies have over 15,000 battle tanks, 13,000 field guns, 30,000 armoured infantry combat vehicles and 1,600 battle helicopters more than the Nato countries have stationed in Europe.

The Warsaw Pact's 1,365 missiles with a range of less than 500km are lined up against a mere 88 comparable Nato systems.

Herr Wörner writes in his preface to the report that the Warsaw Pact continues to maintain more armed forces than it needs to defend its territory.

"One wonders what prompts it to impose such a heavy burden on its economy," he notes.

Thus the main security problem, especially in Central Europe, against the background of a start to nuclear disarmament is the Warsaw Pact's invasion capability.

In structure, size and logistics Nato forces are, in contrast, in no position to launch an attack aimed at gaining enemy terrain.

Since 1970, the figures show, Nato has increased the number of its main battle tanks by about 7,300, as against an East bloc increase of over 22,000 in the same period.

The artillery trend is even more alarming, with Nato's field guns virtually unchanged in number, whereas the Warsaw Pact has increased its capacity in this sector by 24,500.

In Western Europe, including France, 17,885 battle tanks are stationed, as against 32,200 in Eastern Europe.

The Nato countries have 5.3 million men under arms all over the world, the Warsaw Pact six million.

The East has a total of over 14,000 combat aircraft, including 7,465 earmarked for use in Europe.

Nato air forces have over 9,000 combat aircraft, but in Europe alone the East has over 3,000 fighter aircraft more than the West, while the West's 680 combat helicopters face 2,265 in the East.

Figures for the Red Fleet show the Soviet naval modernisation programme to have continued to concentrate on submarines and ships armed with sea-to-sea missiles.

In the North Atlantic and seas bordering on the European coastline Nato has 297 destroyers and frigates stationed, as against the Warsaw Pact's 200.

But the Warsaw Pact has a combined fleet of 374 minesweepers as against Nato's 266.

In the early 1970s Nato was felt to retain a qualitative advantage in respect of a number of weapon systems, but the Bonn Defence Ministry report feels this is no longer the case.

Roughly one million engineers and scientists are engaged in military research in the Soviet Union alone.

Ekkehard Kohrs

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 13 February 1988)

Continued from page 2

lated and that time did not run against it.

"Despite a certain silence in the West there is a latent turn-round of opinion against Israel," he said. "This process is in full motion in the United States too."

The Palestinians must naturally take part in the international conference that seemed so urgently needed.

The PLO had lately made promising proposals that could not simply be brushed aside. Herr Schäfer censured Israel's domestic practice of banning contacts with PLO members and of dismissing elected mayors.

He also criticised Israeli settlement policies, which had merely contributed toward deterioration of the situation in the occupied territories.

He took a sceptical view of what Europe could do to help solve the conflict. "Europe," he said, "is too weak to make proposals for a solution." But it could play a part by helping to arrange a peace conference and by supporting a dialogue.

Britain and France at the least must take part in the conference.

He made it clear to Israel that it could not take the European Community to court in pursuit of trade preferences while at the same time saying the Middle East conflict was none of Europe's business. The current breaches of human rights were unacceptable.

Herr Schäfer called on Germans to donate generously toward the packed hospitals where injured Palestinians were being treated. The Bundestag could also do more than it had been doing.

Herbert Leiner

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 24 February 1988)

Disarmament talks must end Moscow's offensive edge

The writer of this article, Lothar Rühl, 61, is a state secretary at the Federal Defence Ministry in Bonn. A journalist by profession, he served under Chancellor Helmut Schmidt as deputy chief government spokesman until his transfer to the Defence Ministry in 1982.

The military situation in Europe is governed by the Warsaw Pact's ability to launch a surprise attack and by its ability to mount a major offensive on a continental scale, particularly in Central Europe.

These two offensive capabilities jointly enable the Warsaw Pact to invade Western Europe.

Despite East-West disputes war in Europe has been made most improbable since 1945 by the deterrent effect of nuclear weapons.

In the foreseeable future war will continue to be an unlikely prospect in the event of a recurrence of East-West tension.

As long as there is a threat of nuclear weapons being used in response to a large-scale conventional attack no government and no general staff will be able to regard military superiority as sufficient to ensure victory and thus as a suitable means in the pursuit of politics.

This is certainly true of the present situation, which may accordingly be regarded as crisis-proof despite the Warsaw Pact's military superiority in Europe.

The military stability that exists between East and West in Europe is thus due to the availability of sufficient stockpiles of nuclear weapons with which to respond to a large-scale attack by superior forces.

The reduction of these stockpiles and the prospect of further nuclear disarmament by the United States and the Soviet Union bring to the forefront of any appraisal of military security the Warsaw Pact's conventionally armed, highly mobile and attack-orientated ground and air force invasion capability.

That is why, in the negotiations on "conventional stability in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals" proposed by the West, it is not just a matter of approximate parity of troop strength or armaments in Europe.

The aim is to ensure that the Warsaw Pact forfeits its special abilities to launch a surprise attack and to mount a large-scale offensive.

Invasion capability is the ability to decide the outcome of a military engagement on the territory of the adversary one has attacked.

It consists not merely of armed forces capable of launching an attack but of the ability to wage a war of aggression on a large scale.

Nato forces can attack in the battle area but are not in a position to wage a war of aggression against Eastern Europe.

The Warsaw Pact, in contrast, is capable of waging such a war against and in Western Europe.

Most weapons and troops can be used in both attack and defence. They include battle tanks and field artillery, even mobile anti-tank and anti-aircraft units.

So eliminating invasion capability is not just a matter of doing away with battle tanks or field guns on both sides.

The armoured offensive capacity of the Warsaw Pact forces in Central Europe and European Russia needs to be eliminated by a reduction in the number of main battle tanks, armoured infantry combat vehicles and field guns that constitutes a far-reaching inroad into military structure.

As Nato's anti-tank capacity has long ceased to be sufficient to cope with the Warsaw Pact's superior armoured offensive capacity the prerequisite for balanced arms control in Europe is self-evident.

To take but one example, only about 40 per cent of the Warsaw Pact's main battle tanks can effectively be handled by Nato guided missiles.

Sixty per cent, or roughly 16,000 of the 26,500 tanks in Central Europe and European Russia can only be knocked out by the guns of the latest Western battle tanks.

This means that Nato's battle tanks would need to be deployed as anti-tank weapons and thus stationed in the defensive.

Armoured offensive capacity and battle staying power in general must be

WELT am SONNTAG

taken as the yardsticks of conventional stability.

In this sector the Warsaw Pact enjoys a clear edge that cannot simply be expressed in terms of a ratio of three to one.

The enormous mobility of the newly-arrayed Warsaw Pact land-based divisions and regiments is a further feature of wide-ranging offensive capability.

Invasion capability consists of the reconnaissance and leadership potential for a large-scale offensive, the ability to back up such offensives with supplies and reinforcements, the appropriate mobilisation and transport capacity and the logistics and storage of fuel, ammunition and spares stockpiled in the staging area.

So numbers of battle tanks, armoured infantry combat vehicles and field artillery guns are not the only criterion. Neither are the respective troop strengths.

The characteristics of offensive and invasion capability encompass the entire structure, including composition, arrangement and equipment of troops, field strength and deployment.

A simple numerical comparison is of no more than limited use inasmuch as Warsaw Pact forces can be swiftly reinforced from the Soviet Union.

Soviet reinforcements can be sent to the front sooner and in larger numbers at all stages of reinforcement than Nato reinforcements.

The great initial strength in being of Warsaw Pact land-based forces in Central Europe constitutes the bedrock of superiority.

Within 24 hours of the order being given from Moscow to take up attacking position in war formation the Warsaw

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

Späth determined to defend absolute majority in Baden-Württemberg

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

The CDU has only one aim in the Baden-Württemberg state assembly elections: to defend its absolute majority.

What is more, the Christian Democrats have made it more than clear that their programme consists solely of *Land* Premier Lothar Späth.

The majority he and the CDU have enjoyed for many years is in jeopardy on 20 March, election day.

According to the deputy chairman of the CDU in Baden-Württemberg, Erwin Teufel, party chairman Premier Späth stands a "fifty-fifty" chance. He is also fighting for his own political future.

Herr Späth has undoubtedly been annoyed recently at the incessant public discussion about a possible coalition should the need arise.

Fuel was added to conjecture at the beginning of the year when the FDP in Baden-Württemberg announced that it intends joining forces with the CDU (in line with the coalition structure in Bonn) if a coalition is necessary.

Since then Herr Späth has emphasised that, although it cannot be theoretically ruled out that the CDU may be forced to enter into a coalition after the election, he would only be willing to become head of the state government if he was able to personally accept all coalition arrangements.

The Baden-Württemberg CDU has categorically rejected a coalition of any kind. The party's campaign concept is correspondingly simple.

The CDU concentrates by and large on plugging the successes of its government during the last four legislative periods and at the same time promising that it knows best how to make sure that Baden-Württemberg remains the most prosperous of *Länder*.

It also cites facts and figures in its favour which result from Baden-Württemberg's unusually favourable economic structure rather than from the CDU's policies.

However, even the inhabitants of Baden and Swabia, renowned for their thrift, have come to realise that times are getting harder.

They too are worried about their jobs, their savings, their pensions and the future of the children, and Lothar Späth takes up these fears in his election campaign speeches.

A "People's Premier" who — albeit much faster than most people from his part of the country — speaks the language of the people, he has no qualms about painting the scenario of a gloomy future which will above all be shaped by merciless international economic competition.

The colours in which he then paints the tried and tested ability of the CDU to discern and tackle problems at hand are all the brighter.

His recent budget trick is a good example of practical politics à la Späth.

Pointing towards the disquieting development of the economy and contrary to usual practice, he gave the go-ahead for a premature release of all the investment funds in the state budget, a tidy sum of DM1.3bn, and cleverly sold this move as an ecomomic policy programme.

The hapless references by the Opposition to an equally large budget deficit were drowned in the overwhelming applause for Späth's move throughout the land.

Herr Späth denied, of course, that this move had anything to do with the election campaign.

Via surprises of this kind Späth, who is never at a loss for unusual ideas, is trying to distract attention from a problem which his own party colleagues are causing him in Bonn and which could queer his pitch on polling day.

The *Infas* opinion pollsters, who have predicted that the CDU will only get 46.5 per cent of the vote on 20 March (as opposed to 51.9 per cent in 1984), feel that Späth's position could be threatened by the adverse effects of unpopular federal issues.

They include dying forests, the crisis in the iron and steel industry, the nuclear power industry scandal, tax reforms and, last but not least, the impression of a disunited CDU/CSU.

Herr Späth is already aware of this fact and makes no secret of his displeasure.

He has often criticised the policies pursued by the government in Bonn, for example, in the fields of tax reform or plans to increase excise taxes, policies which he claims seem to completely disregard the forthcoming election in Baden-Württemberg.

Premier Späth, who is also deputy chairman of the CDU at national level, solves this problem in his own tactically clever way.

During his party's official election campaign start in Freiburg he gave Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who appeared as a guest speaker, a wordy assurance of his loyalty.

Before doing so he had urged his party congress delegates to concentrate on relevant issues during the election campaign, meaning issues relating to Baden-Württemberg.

It remains to be seen whether this remedy will do the trick.

Even though the CDU is doing all it can to spread optimism it is obvious that its nervousness is increasing as polling day approaches.

Herr Späth himself has been on the move non-stop for weeks and does not miss an opportunity to put in a publicity-oriented appearance.


Lothar Späth
(Photo: Sven Simon)

His visit to Moscow and his talks with the Soviet leader, Mr Gorbachov, were not officially described as an election campaign move.

They certainly cannot harm the image of a conservative politician who may well have his sights set higher than the state assembly in Stuttgart.

After all, Lothar Späth only recently turned fifty.

Klaus Fischer

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 14 February 1988)

Lafontaine's new look for the SPD

Saar Premier and deputy SPD leader Oskar Lafontaine has apparently discovered a market gap in his party: economic policy.

Since the almost forgotten days of Economics and Finance Minister Karl Schiller and Bonn Chancellor Helmut Schmidt the Social Democrats have been unable to find anyone able to devise really new ideas in this field and present them convincingly to the public.

It now looks as if Lafontaine wants to change this situation in his third official function.

Together with party chairman Hans-Jochen Vogel he is responsible for the SPD commission set up to elaborate a new party programme, almost 30 years after the 1959 Bad Godesberg manifesto and 125 years after the party was founded.

After Lafontaine was obliged to play second fiddle to the older Hans-Jochen Vogel in the election of the party chairman in mid-June 1987 and to settle for the role of deputy chairman not much was heard about him.

Yet Oskar Lafontaine is held in particularly high esteem by party left-wingers as one of Willy Brandt's political "grandchildren".

At the beginning of December last year, however, Lafontaine surprised everybody with his announcement that it is a "myth" to believe that politics can comprehensively regulate the economic process.

This statement was welcomed by party right-wingers and the FDP.

Herr Lafontaine added that the SPD was not the party of the "moral index finger". He then made several appearances on the Bonn stage — so to speak, as the index finger of the "new" SPD.

At the beginning of February, once again in contrast to ideas advocated in the SPD for decades, he claimed that nationalisation was not the right way to solve economic and structural problems.

He also picked an argument with the trade unions by stating that a reduction of working time must be accompanied by a loss of pay.


Oskar Lafontaine
(Photo: Poly-Press)

Furthermore, Lafontaine has written yet another book. It has the ambitious title *Die Gesellschaft der Zukunft* (The Society of the Future) and will be published by Hoffmann and Campe in March.

Extracts from the book have already been published (with a positive publicity effect) by the weekly magazine *Der Spiegel*.

Lafontaine's book *Der andere Fortschritt* (The Other Progress), in which he tried to present himself as a conceptual pioneer, was published just before the last state election in the Saar in 1985.

At that time, he advocated greater collaboration between the SPD and the Greens whenever this seemed justifiable in terms of policy content.

The author urged his party to seek programmatic renewal in the form of an "eco-socialism" as the point of intersection between Socialists and ecologists.

He defined this approach as follows: "It combines the fight against the exploitation of human beings with the fight against the exploitation of nature."

Using concepts which were far from original, and very rarely in concrete terms, Lafontaine called inter alia for government employment programmes and the use of new technologies for specific and socially desirable growth.

What is more, he predicted "an activation of creative democratic potential at grass roots level" via greater worker co- and self-determination.

The extracts from Lafontaine's book published so far indicate that it is formulated at a sophisticated theoretical level and marked by analytical clarity. However, there are very few concrete solutions for existing problems.

The author makes certain basic demands on the "society of the future".

A "new definition of the concept of work and its assessment", for example, is needed.

In conflict with traditional trade union ideas, he criticises the "long-standing fixation of the concept of work on gainful employment, i.e. remunerated work, an injustice towards those people . . ., who have carried out and still carry out unpaid and socially indispensable work.

"Old people have to be looked after, sick people taken care of, and children brought up."

In the light of this insight he demands a continued state-guaranteed and controlled extension of basic social security for all those unable to carry out gainful employment.

dpa

(Bremer Nachrichten, 18 February 1988)

■ INTERVIEW

Freiburg military historian on the Waldheim report

Although the report by the international commission of historians on the wartime activities of President Waldheim of Austria has been officially submitted to the Austrian authorities Professor Manfred Messerschmidt, the German member of the commission, cannot find peace of mind.

During an interview in his Freiburg home the Waldheim case cropped up again and again. The historians' report, it would seem, was no mere episode. It had become a dominant issue in Messerschmidt's life.

Messerschmidt and his fellow-historians questioned Waldheim himself for four hours and pored over records dealing with the details of Waldheim's past for weeks on end.

It was "almost like in one of the major concentration camp trials," said Messerschmidt. Once again, he added, it had become clear how deeply involved even the ordinary citizen was in the "Nazi machinery," a system which functioned thanks to "thousands of Waldheims."

Messerschmidt has not gained a greater insightinto Waldheim's personality, the contours of which are still blurred.

This inability to get closer to the man Waldheim himself, even after dealing with him for so long, makes Messerschmidt feel particularly uncertain.

"Did we do justice to Waldheim as an individual? Were we too unemotional in our report, as many people claimed?," Messerschmidt, who had just returned from Vienna, asked.

During the hearing Messerschmidt asked himself how he would have behaved in a comparable situation. Waldheim is not that much older than Messerschmidt.

In 1943, at the age of seventeen, Messerschmidt was an anti-aircraft auxiliary in Dortmund and, following labour service, a pioneer on the western front during the last year of the war.

When the war came to an end he was a lance corporal, Waldheim a lieutenant.

Had Messerschmidt been a few years older he may have had to sign his name under documents similar to those signed by Waldheim in the Balkans.

"The commission did not hear of a single case in which Waldheim objected to orders he undoubtedly realised were unjust, made a protest or took any kind of counter-measures," says the report.

Would Messerschmidt have acted any differently? He gave no answer to the question he himself raised.

Messerschmidt has spent 25 years, almost half his life as a researcher, analysing the history of the Wehrmacht at the Military History Research Institute in Freiburg.

He triggered a storm of protest among former servicemen by branding as illegal and inhuman the obeying of illegal and inhuman orders.

He has repeatedly emphasised that the giving and taking of orders is more than just a formal principle; he stresses that both aspects must bear in mind the content of orders.

The "dimension of the humane," he underlined, should never be ignored.

"Up to now," said Messerschmidt, "we military historians have only looked at the tip of the pyramid with our questions about Hitler's orders and the reaction of his generals." This case, however, focuses on Lieutenant Waldheim, the lowly Mr Average, who during the war only carried out orders and fought for his Fatherland.

How much room to manoeuvre did the numerous Waldheims actually have?

After Waldheim became entangled during the hearing in a web of silence, suppression and forgetfulness Messerschmidt even "felt sorry for Waldheim in his hopeless situation."

Messerschmidt said this hesitantly, as if this was an admission he should have kept to himself.

In his mind's eye he relived the experience of the hearing.

To begin with, Waldheim was visibly nervous, but gradually became more self-confident. Manfred Messerschmidt recalled that he found many of Waldheim's formulations and gestures credible.

Then Waldheim was shown the various documents which had been gathered by the commission.

Waldheim did not even allow Messerschmidt to formulate his questions in full, but interrupted them beforehand with claims that he knew nothing about the documents and that he was not involved in the events described.

Memories made Messerschmidt break his reserve for a short while. Feelings ran high as he cited documents referring to "unbelievable events," an "awful bloodbath," "sadism" and the "murder of hundreds of women and children" — all of which took place in the immediate vicinity of where Waldheim was based.

"When Waldheim said that this was the first time he had heard of these events I was almost speechless," said Messerschmidt.

What kind of person, Messerschmidt asked himself, cannot or refuses to remember things "which, in the light of my own experience, I will never forget as long as I live?"

Messerschmidt received a telegram from the Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky in which he dissociates himself from the remarks made by Austria's former Foreign Minister Karl Gruber.

Gruber questioned the commission's impartiality and described Messerschmidt as a socialist.

Messerschmidt is used to this kind of criticism. He claimed that the label of "socialist" was passed on to Gruber by his critics in Freiburg.

Messerschmidt is frequently the butt of criticism at the Military History Research Institute in Freiburg, where he has been historical director since 1970.

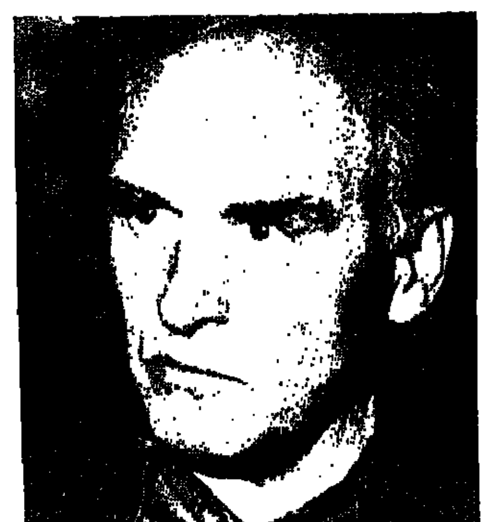
The controversy over the role of the military during World War II has divided the 40 historians there for many years:

Did the Wehrmacht simply endure or even suffer under the Nazi system? Or was it actively involved in and did it approve of the crimes committed?

Messerschmidt has adopted an unambiguous stance in this dispute. In his opinion, the Wehrmacht was, together with the SS, "the iron guarantor of the system" — an assessment which is strongly criticised by the majority of conservative historians in Freiburg.

Messerschmidt has never understood "why in Germany everything related to the military should be a *noli me tangere*. It must face up to discussion and criticism like other historical phenomena."

Messerschmidt can describe the role of the military in the Second World War from the vantage point of someone who was relatively uninvolved.


Manfred Messerschmidt
(Photo: dpa)

He grew up in the north-east of Dortmund, an area with a strong Social Democratic influence, and his life was much more decisively shaped by the "shift-work as a piece-rate worker at the Kaiserstuhl pit" than by military traditions.

His year as a young Wehrmacht soldier finished with a traumatic experience which was to change his life.

"In the American P.O.W. camp," he recalled, "we were permanently bombarded by pictures, films of concentration camps with piles of corpses and reports of atrocities."

When Messerschmidt was released from the camp at the age of 19 he was a shattered and disillusioned man. He was determined to study history and try to find the reasons for the German disaster.

His tutor, the national-conservative historian Gerhard Ritter, viewed the Nazis as an accident of German history, a dark shadow which would soon pass by.

Messerschmidt still gets annoyed today that Ritter wrote words to the same effect in the preface to his PhD thesis. He feels the theory of a continuity in German history is much more plausible.

This view was bound to cause offence, particularly among former servicemen.

In 1981, in the middle of a public discussion on the extent to which the Bundeswehr should keep up military tradition the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* published one of Messerschmidt't lectures.

His argument that the Bundeswehr should not include the years 1933 to 1945 in its efforts to keep up tradition because the Wehrmacht explicitly approved of Hitler's regime triggered a discussion among readers lasting many weeks.

Since then ex-servicemen's associations have bombarded the Bonn Defence Ministry with letters demanding that Messerschmidt be replaced as historical director of the Military History Research Institute in Freiburg.

Our interview was interrupted by a phone call from the secretary of the Austrian Chancellor relating to the final version of the commission's report.

Following the call Messerschmidt unexpectedly talked about people in Vienna.

Many people had stopped him on the street and asked him to drop his enquiries. Now, they said, 40 years after the war, he should stop digging up old Nazi tales.

This is something Manfred Messerschmidt cannot do.

A few years ago, his publisher rang to ask what to do with the remainder stock of his major study *Die Wehrmacht im NS-Staat* (published in 1969).

"Please keep it," he replied. "That's something you can't just file away."

Thomas Kleine-Brockhoff

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 26 February 1988)

■ COAL AND STEEL

DM1bn cash fillip for hard-hit Ruhr

The Federal government is prepared to contribute DM500m toward a special aid programme for coal and steel regions. This figure, Chancellor Kohl announced in Bonn, was to include DM400m for the Ruhr. If the European Community and the *Länder* were to make corresponding contributions the Ruhr would stand to benefit from DM1bn in special investment. The Chancellor also backed plans for a hovertrain link between Düsseldorf and Cologne-Bonn airports and a free port in Duisburg.

Everyone is keen to help the hard-hit Ruhr. The Federal government is willing, as the outcome of the Chancellor's coal and steel talks in Bonn showed.

The North Rhine-Westphalian government in Düsseldorf is keen as a matter of course. So are the trade unions and employers.

What can possibly go wrong given this Grand Coalition of goodwill?

Experience prompts scepticism. The Ruhr has largely itself to blame for its industrial crisis.

For decades the coal industry has been kept alive by means of public subsidies. Between 1979 and 1986 mining subsidies totalled roughly DM45bn, of which the Ruhr accounted for the lion's share.

Since the early 1980s the steel industry has also been dependent on government subsidies. These financial fillips may have been far less generous than in other European countries, but they were still the kiss of life.

Yet subsidies, no matter how enormous, are no guarantee of the long-term survival of pits, steelworks and rolling mills. Structural change is merely delayed.

Time may have been gained, but at enormous cost to us all and to the coal and steel regions in the Federal Republic.

The coal crisis and the steel setback have now coincided, and at a time when the economy is in poor shape.

The state of the economy is certainly a far cry from what it was in the 1950s and 1960s and unlikely to create new jobs for all the redundant miners and steelworkers.

This bitter experience must not go unheeded when the Federal and *Land* governments act on their promises of assistance. The state must not continue to strain against the leash of long-overdue, unavoidable structural change.

Social Democrats and many trade unionists have come to accept the economic truism that there is no point in producing steel no-one wants to buy.

This realisation, coming late in the day though it may do, can only mean that the Federal and *Land* governments and local authorities must *not* take part in vague job creation schemes that stand no chance of ever earning adequate profits and thus creating safe jobs.

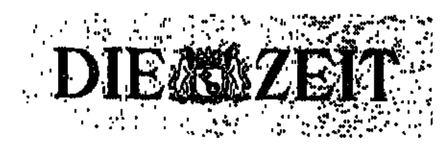
How could a government ever pull out of such unprofitable schemes once they were launched if, by so doing, it would promptly throw people out of work?

Almost inevitably the public sector would be saddled with fresh long-term subsidies.

Politically no-one will dispute the need to help the Ruhr. The Federal Republic's industrial heartland cannot be allowed to go to rack and ruin.

If coastal areas and remote border regions deserve support and industrial development measures, then so does the Ruhr. But what can the Federal and *Land* governments meaningfully do to help?

Government economic policy moves must, for better or for worse, be limited to creating favourable framework con-



ditions for industrial location in the crisis-torn coal and steel areas.

That alone is a tall order. The North Rhine-Westphalian *Land* government has already embarked on moves that are now to be upgraded and intensified with assistance from Bonn.

Heavier investment in infrastructure is the most promising idea. Industrial wasteland where mines and steelworks once flourished needs to be reclaimed with the assistance of public funds and made available to new or growing companies.

Why should companies on the look-out for new industrial locations *not* be offered financial incentives on a par with those offered firms investing in border areas? The southbound brain drain must be brought to a halt.

If the right political decisions are reached, researech facilities, scientists and technicians could just as easily relocate in the Ruhr as on the Neckar or the Isar.

Structural change requires patience

Continued on page 13

Depressed industrial heartland awaits investment bonanza

After three hours Klaus Luft, chief executive of Nixdorf Computers, Paderborn, lost patience with North Rhine-Westphalian Premier Johannes Rau's coal and steel talks.

He was incensed because, in his view, the proceedings were mere verbiage that failed to get down to the brass tacks of specific projects designed to deal with the Ruhr's structural shortcomings.

But the outcome of the Düsseldorf talks, which took five and a half hours and involved 91 people, was not as bad as all that.

There was a partial approximation of viewpoints held by the various lobbies — employers, banks, unions, local authorities, rural districts and the Churches — and specific results were reached in certain cases.

The general tenor was something approaching a joint resolve to cope with the anything but simple problems.

Initially that was anything but a matter of course given the differences of opinion between, say, IG Metall, the engineering workers' union, with its support for job creation schemes and the employers' view that job creation schemes, subsidised to the hilt to provide employment for redundant steelworkers, would merely deprive other firms of work.

All were agreed that there is no single, sure-fire solution. There is merely an abundance of more or less specific projects dependent on financial backing from the government to get going.

Yet the jobs they create are unlikely to be suitable for former miners or steelworkers. What is needed is fairly young people with a grasp of mathematics, physics, informatics and chemistry. Their services are in demand all over the country.

They are skilled workers and specialists in trades and professions where unemployment does not exist.

Yet substantial headway has been made if North Rhine-Westphalia, after 22 years of SPD government, has finally realised that economic policy cannot be restricted to priority for coal.

It certainly can't now coal subsidies have plunged the state into staggering debts that make it extremely difficult to branch out now in new directions.

That is why Bonn was called on to lend greater financial support. Herr Rau would like to see the Federal government provide DM1.73bn by 1992, plus special tax write-offs and unspecified assistance to help local authorities bear the burden of welfare provisions.

The aim is to provide local authorities

Süddeutsche Zeitung

with more cash to invest in new jobs. But North Rhine-Westphalia will not be alone in feeling the need for tax relief of this kind, so Bonn Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg is unlikely to oblige.

The Federal government is expected to contribute DM1.3bn over a four-year period toward investment in the coal and steel regions.

North Rhine-Westphalia plans to raise DM720m in loans.

A further DM500m is to be invested in coal areas and DM540m in steel areas, half by the Federal government, half by the *Land*.

Nor is that all. As in areas bordering on the GDR new job-creating investment in coal and steel regions is to enjoy a 23-per-cent (as opposed to 18-per-cent) subsidy.

Other grants are *naturally* to continue. So subsidies stand to be increased substantially and not reduced as advocated by Chancellor Kohl and Finance Minister Stoltenberg.

Employers sounded a sceptical note, not for the first time, whereas chambers of commerce, trade and industry, trade unions and local authorities all welcome the DM2bn project.

At the end of the talks, which Herr Rau had not planned on this scale, he said a fair measure of agreement was apparent even though not all *differences* of opinion had been eliminated.

So maybe the steel talks to be chaired by Chancellor Kohl in Bonn will accomplish more than sceptics have yet expected.

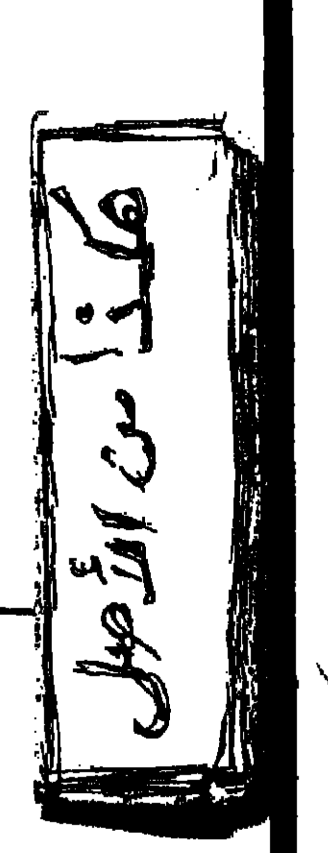
The Federal government is now likelier to lend specific support for one project or another.

But no-one can create jobs in time for the up to 100,000 people who stand to lose jobs in coal, steel and supplier industries by 1992.

It is not just a matter of cash but one of structures, not the least important of which is the intellectual structure, which badly needs to be developed, renewed and consolidated.

Miners and steelworkers are not in demand. High tech calls for intelligent, mobile employees who are both able and willing to learn.

Ernst Berens
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 19 February 1988)



■ WORK

Round-the-clock shifts seven days a week are fine in theory



Berlin town planners Bussow Grabow and Dietrich Henckel wax almost lyrical about the opportunities flexitime affords (or could do if it were given a chance).

You would hardly expect town planners to sound as enthusiastic as they do in their article for *Stadtbauwelt* magazine.

Working for the German Urban Affairs Institute, an acknowledged leader in its field, they might seem likelier to concentrate on level-headed, academic analysis.

Yet they list flexitime advantages such as shopping at 9 p.m., going home early now and then while the Sun is still shining, taking a longer break from conveyor-belt work and going on holiday with the children during term time.

They then add, sounding a more level-headed note, that: "As yet people still only have visions of such ideas."

But they go on to console themselves — and readers of their essay *Neu-Zeitliches : Zeitstrukturen im Wandel* — with a further argument.

"No-one may notice the fact," they write, "but gradually, and anything but spectacularly, the system of fixed and inflexible, universally valid working hours is being undermined.

"Breaking loose from social conformity is gaining acceptance. People are prepared to work on Saturday in return for Monday off. Flexitime is increasingly widespread in offices.

"Parks and beaches are invitingly empty on Monday mornings. People work at home at computer terminals. They work in the evening and sleep longer in the morning.

Couples can do their teleshopping from their living rooms at 8 p.m. or record the late film on video and watch it at breakfast."

Yet, oddly enough, these are not the benefits illustrated on the monitor screens of people with a professional interest in flexitime.

Management graphics emphasise lower unit costs and international competitive advantages.

Trade union VDUs in contrast paint a gloomy picture of labour being subordinated to the time dictates of capital-intensive production equipment, weighing heavily on health and welfare as a consequence.

Political parties tend to share the views of one side or the other.

From the pulpit we are told there are "justified fears of an increase in Sunday working leading to further isolation," to quote Rev. Erwin Schäfer, an industrial chaplain, at the Protestant Academy in Bad Boll.

At the end of this process, largely unnoticed in its individual steps, he argued, there would be a "grandiose breathlessness in all sectors."

In the debate on more flexible working hours three main issues are at stake:

- the desire to create new jobs,
- the idea of doing so by reducing the number of hours worked,
- and the management target of cutting unit costs and gaining a competitive advantage by working longer hours at expensive production facilities.

Employers and unions are, broadly speaking, at odds on how to reconcile these three objectives.

If machinery is to run longer, the working day must be decoupled from, say, the customary eight-hour routine.

This can be done by working nine-hour shifts or a six-day week (as against eight and five respectively).

The most extreme instance is, of course, a seven-day week worked round the clock.

Views differ on whether or not overtime should be paid, how overtime can be traded in for time off work and whether working on Saturdays (not to mention Sundays) is really necessary.

Disputes have been taken to court and trenchant criticism is levelled at, say, Rev. Schäfer.

Konrad Neundörfer, business manager of Gesamttextil, the textile manufacturers' association, takes a dim view of Church opposition to flexitime.

It is not, he says, a suitable means of counteracting the decline in attendance at church services on Sunday.

There have also been threats. IBM, for instance, plans to employ some of its staff in Sindelfingen, near Stuttgart, on seven days a week working three shifts round the clock.



That, Big Blue argues, is the only way in which utilisation of the expensive machinery used to manufacture megachips can be improved. Chip quality would arguably be improved and wastage reduced.

Failing agreement on the proposed new work schedule the company would have to think in terms of relocating abroad or in neighbouring Bavaria.

In Regensburg, Bavaria, IBM's competitor Siemens has been allowed to negotiate an in-house agreement to manufacture megachips round the clock and seven days a week.

IBM's threat stands for a trend, with companies making industrial location dependent on flexitime provisions and playing off one location against the other.

Henckel terms this trend "flexitime on a regional basis." It will, he says, gain increasing importance in international competition as more flexible arrangements gain ground in other European countries.

In Belgium, for instance, a leading motor manufacturer is in the process of introducing a six-day working week in which Saturday is a normal working day and does not count as overtime.

European and international competition along these lines will, he argues, exert a strong influence on hours worked in Germany.

It may also lead to competition within the Federal Republic, depending on the extent to which unions and employers are prepared to agree on various kinds of flexitime.

This is a particularly challenging prospect for the trade unions.

Kassel regional researcher and sociologist Detlev Ipsen sees the trend as follows:

"I feel the unions will have to rethink the way in which they represent employees' interests. A standard interest that meets in equal measure the requirements of thousands or hundreds of thousands of workers will be an even more remote prospect than it already is.

"Trade union insiders well know how very, very difficult it is already to standardise interests in any way."

Professor Ipsen says the trade unions would be "well advised to put to their own use the requirements of flexitime, taking a much smaller-scale and more specific view of interests and accepting such differences as genuinely exist."

That, he says, will be one of the major tasks that face the trade unions. If they are either unable or unwilling to solve it they will find themselves playing a steadily less significant role.

This conclusion is a challenge the unions in the main will need to face. Where framework terms of reference are concerned the unions must encourage imagination.

The problem is that a plethora of special arrangements such as would result will make wage talks and agreements in general even less straightforward. The unions run an obvious risk of forfeiting central power.

At Sindelfingen the attempt by the works council to negotiate special provisions at IBM has split union opinion down the middle.

The works council decided, by 17 votes to 10, to enter into negotiations with the management on an agreement governing Sunday working.

IG Metall, the engineering workers' union, thereupon demanded the works council's resignation. The works council refused to do so; instead its chairman resigned his membership of the union.

The "breaking loose from social conformity" that Grabow and Henckel see, in a flexitime context, as an opportunity for putting extra leisure to better use at unaccustomed times has clearly come an initial cropper at Sindelfingen.

It is hard to see, as yet, agreement being reached between staff and management on a decoupling of works operating hours from staff working hours that is both socially acceptable and geared to ensuring maximum profits.

Gerhard Hirschfeld
(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 7 February 1988)

Sindelfingen is up in arms over flexitime

STUTTGARTER NACHRICHTEN

In prosperous Sindelfingen, near Stuttgart, the home of blue chip employers Daimler-Benz and IBM, the time is out of joint.

Views differ, to say the least, on plans to work on Sundays and introduce round-the-clock shift working at IBM.

IBM, once the pride of Sindelfingen, is in disgrace, with even the Church on the warpath.

IBM's works council has come in for the brunt of criticism, but IBM in general is the whipping boy for plans to work on Sundays.

Most local organisations are strongly opposed. The unions call the idea "immoral and utterly objectionable." The Greens see it as the "tip of a management iceberg."

The Social Democrats refer to "incredible goings-on" and both Catholic and Protestant clergymen pillory "social damage" and say the cost will be a price to be paid "in human currency."

They all claim to have the staff on their side. IG Metall, the engineering workers' union, has polled IBM staff and claims 91 per cent are opposed to working on Sundays.

It has started collecting signatures at the IBM works and says well over 1,000 staff members have already signed.

IBM staff are certainly worried. Hundreds of them are attending works meetings held by the trade union.

Turnout has been heavy since Black Tuesday, when the dispute over round-the-clock shift working came to a head in the works council.

At an eight-hour meeting the works council threw out full-time members opposed to round-the-clock shifts (even though they were a minority).

No reason is said to have been given. Votes were cast and out they were, says Gisela Haupt, now ex-deputy works council chairman.

IG Metall's Klaus Ernst says the order of the boot was illegal as well as despicable.

It was surely not for the works council, as the staff representation, to warn in a circular against a breach of the works peace, a ground for dismissal usually brandished by the management.

Peace is a remote prospect as matters stand, with tempers running high at IBM, if the last union meeting at the company was any guide.

People are said to have been telephoned and warned not to attend. Heads of department are said to have brought pressure on staff not to go to the meeting.

It nearly ended in uproar when Jürgen Miklitz, the new deputy works council chairman, turned up and a majority of those present, arguing that they wanted to be able to speak freely, voted to turf him out.

He stayed but was shunned like a leper. Pressure on the works council is to be stepped up by collecting more signatures in the hope, as one speaker said, that there are still members of the works council who want to be able to look themselves in the face in their bathroom mirror.

Gert Bürgel
(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 12 February 1988)

■ INDUSTRY

Tobacco trade feels the chill winds of anti-smoking campaign

The cigarette industry in the Federal Republic feels encircled, particularly since health policymakers have gone on to the offensive with their "demands by non-smokers."

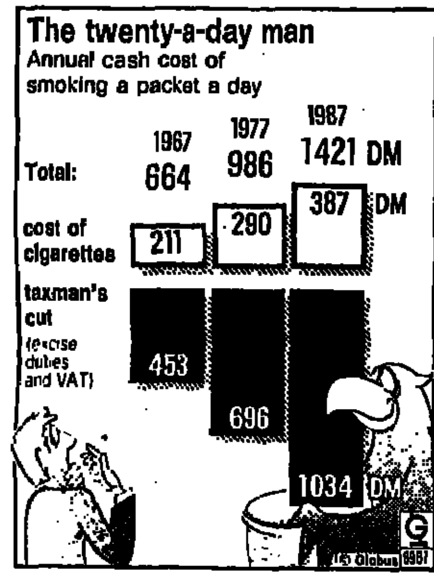
They want to see the Bonn government, the European Community and the World Health Organisation take stronger action against smoking.

West Berlin's social affairs senator, Ulf Fink (CDU), has now announced a wide-ranging anti-smoking campaign. This has caused the cigarette industry association to hit back.

The association's representative in Hamburg says that this will not only cut into turnover but puts peace in the Federal Republic in danger.

He claimed that the Fink programme sought to "emotionalise non-smokers and mobilise them against smokers."

The future looks grim for the industry. In the short and medium term a total of 4,500 jobs are at risk in the West Berlin cigarette industry.



Many medium-sized businesses, particularly retail shops selling cigarettes and tobacco and cigarette kiosks run the danger of bankruptcy.

Berlin is the centre of the cigarette industry in this country. Due to the generosity of the Berlin Senate's subsidies six companies there produce 80 per cent of the cigarettes smoked in the Federal Republic.

In Berlin, of all places, hospitals, schools, kindergartens and doctors' surgeries will become basically no-smoking zones.

Frankfurter Rundschau

The Berlin Senate through Fink's programme also wants to make public buildings, business offices and booking offices and halls no-smoking zones.

There are urgent plans in the pipeline to ban smoking from doctors' surgeries, teaching and instruction facilities, in communal waiting rooms and accommodation used for breaks during work, in canteens, in reception rooms, toilets and lifts.

The Berlin programme also proposes to separate smokers from non-smokers at work as soon as non-smokers call for this.

But that is not all. The Senate wants to make it more difficult to sell cigarettes. Cigarette vending machines are to be banned from the facilities mentioned above. Regulations introducing these restrictions will be drawn up for the public service.

Until now only Baden-Württemberg has taken similar offensive action against smokers. Through its campaign West Berlin hopes to gain a leading role in the concern for public health.

The people who have drawn up the programme say that it is about time something was done and their programme is soon to be put before the Berlin parliament.

The authors of the programme point out that a smoker reduces his or her life expectancy by ten years. A third of cancer deaths are caused by smoking and most people who die of a heart attack have the attack because they smoked.

In 1985 there were 23,614 deaths in West Berlin. Fifty per cent of these deaths were caused by a heart attack, 7,015 from cancer.

The cigarette industry association regards these figures as "sham" and "political manipulation."

Ernst Brückner, deputy managing director of the association, said that the Fink programme was "fooling around, showing an awareness of health that costs nothing."

He said that discrimination against smokers, prohibitions and coercion supported by the state would only create anger and a reaction of defiance. It would lead to bad feelings between smokers and non-smokers.

It is no secret that cigarette industry sales in the Federal Republic have stagnated at the DM23bn level.

The new awareness about health and the non-smoker campaign are not going to make cigarette manufacturers any the happier.

European 'Smoking' Community

Percentage of smokers* in:

Country	%
Denmark	46
Holland	44
Greece	43
Spain	41
France	38
Britain	37
Germany	36
Luxembourg	35
Portugal	33
Italy	33
Ireland	33
Belgium	32

*Percentage of over-18s

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Now they are expressing their concerns about social peace. Brückner warned:

"We are moving towards a social confrontation between smokers and non-smokers. We are becoming a society in which relationships between people will be solved by violence."

Cigarette manufacturers quote a shocking example from the Rotterdam underground network. An excited non-smoker bit off a portion of the nose of a smoker who persisted in smoking, despite a smoking ban and a polite request to desist.

In America the state has gone into action against smoking in a big way.

A German tourist who lit a cigarette in a restaurant was arrested by the California police and thrown into prison where he was held for two days.

Birgit Loff

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 11 February 1988)

Aluminium: power bills hit profits

Aluminium, according to a slogan used by the German aluminium industry, is a "universal" metal. Since bauxite was first mined less than a century ago it has gained and gained in popularity.

It is prized because of its light weight, robustness and the variety of uses to which it can be put.

It has become an indispensible raw material in such industries as aircraft production, engineering and the packing sector. In ordinary life it is much used as a packing medium for foodstuffs of every kind.

Production statistics reflect the metal's success. In 1950 two million tons of primary aluminium were smelted from the raw material, aluminium oxide. Currently the figure stands at 16 million tons.

Apart from iron more aluminium is produced in the world than any other metal. But the structure of the industry is changing and the end of its difficulties is not in sight.

The steel crisis has pushed the troubles of the aluminium industry into the background, which is not entirely fair, for the German aluminium industry is an industrial sector that should not be underestimated.

The Federal Republic is the largest producer in the European Community with an annual output of 765,000 tons, and is the third largest consumer of this light metal in the West.

The jobs of almost 50,000 people are dependent on the well-being of the aluminium industry in this country.

The crisis came as no surprise. Since 1980 demand for aluminium has been fairly stable. But because of low production costs in the raw materials producing countries such as Australia, New Zealand, Venezuela and Brazil, the producer countries built additional capacities.

But company managers have another problem to worry about apart from over-capacities and the weak US dollar: it is a basic error in the industry — the electrolysis smelting system, used for the past 100 years, needs a lot of electric current.

Techniques have been improved over the years, but the limits to improvements have been reached.

To produce a ton of aluminium from aluminium oxide 14,000 kW hours of electric power are required.

Electricity accounts for 20-30 per cent of production costs in aluminium, making it the most energy-intensive industrial manufacture.

The industry's future stands or falls on the electricity costs factor. Electricity is dearer in the Federal Republic than in most of its neighbours. Because of high energy costs the Alcan works at Ludwigshafen had to close in 1987.

The situation will be made worse when the long-term supply contracts, which have guaranteed companies low rates, expire in 1989.

The concessional prices that producers such as Hamburg's Aluminiumwerke have enjoyed with electricity at 2.8 pfennigs a kilowatt will be a thing of the past.

If the price per kilowatt should be increased at the beginning of the next decade to 12 or as high as 15 pfennigs per kilowatt, and there has been much talk of this, it will be a catastrophe for the German aluminium industry.

The industry association has calculated that should electricity prices be increased by one pfennig per kilowatt then the additional costs to aluminium works with a production capacity of 100,000 tons annually would be about DM17m.

In Venezuela, where electricity prices are less than 1.5 pfennigs, aluminium is about 40 per cent cheaper than Federal Republic-produced aluminium.

What is currently threatening the Federal Republic has become a reality in Japan, a collapse of the domestic industry.

Most aluminium works in Japan have fallen victim to the above-average electricity costs charged. Japan has now become an aluminium importer.

The aluminium industry and the trades unions have appealed to politicians to do something about stabilising the price of electricity.

Alusuisse Deutschland GmbH in Constance would like to link the electricity purchase price to aluminium's sale price. Would the power stations stand for that?

Alusuisse is taking the precaution of drawing up plans; the electrolysis works in Essen and Rheinfelden would only operate during summer when electricity supplies are cheap. This system is already in operation in the USA.

The Bonn-based Vereinigte Aluminiumwerke, owned by Viag and producing 50 per cent of the Federal Republic's aluminium, plans to rationalise its position by discontinuing mass production.

A competitive position could be maintained by specialising in processing techniques and making more intensive use of know-how, particularly in the electronics industry for instance.

This could be the answer for success. But something must be done in good time.

Harald Kesberg

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 12 February 1988)

Continued from page 2

ress in the Middle East. Maybe this realisation will one day give rise to political common sense, but until such time as it does the world can expect to see many more victims of hopelessness.

Peace, it is said, is concluded between enemies, and not between friends. True enough.

Yet as long as one or both parties still feel they have the edge on the other and can afford to live at the other's expense, in an ongoing state of war if need be, there will be no peace.

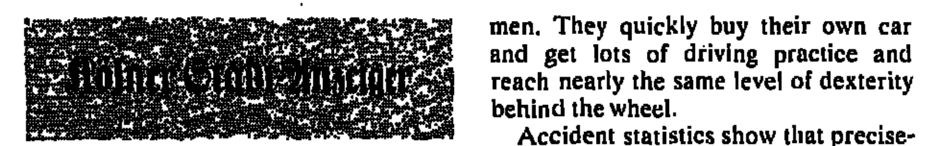
There certainly won't be peace in the Middle East, where the abnormal is normal, the sensible is not possible and the possible doesn't make sense.

Dietrich Strothmann

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 26 February 1988)

■ MOTORING

Women are safer drivers, insurance and licence endorsement statistics show



Women drive more carefully than men, a conference on road safety has been told. Accident statistics and the Flensburg files on traffic offenders show that men make more mistakes at the wheel and cause more accidents than women drivers.

The conference was held in Würzburg by the Bonn Transport Ministry. It was told that male drivers were more aggressive and reckless than women.

However there are situations where women drive worse than men. At crossroads for example, a lot of women hesitate to turn because of cross traffic although they have the right of way.

Impatient drivers behind start sounding their horns and put them under pressure. Women then usually accelerate at the wrong moment. The reactions of the oncoming driver decide whether an accident takes place or not.

Women also do worse than men at parking. But in all other areas of driving it's the men who make the most mistakes.

Women over 45 are an exception. Statistics show they cause more accidents than men of the same age. It's important to bear in mind that these women are a minority who grew up in an era with different social rules.

The man drove the family car in those days. Wives only got to drive a few miles on Sundays on quiet holiday routes.

They are women who passed their driving test relatively late. Most of them do not have their own car. They have driving technique but not enough driving experience.

If one forgets the over 45s why do women drive more carefully than men? Viennese psychologist Professor Brigitte Rollett says the way women are brought up is one reason.

Most women have been brought up to behave tactfully and submissively. Men, on the other hand, are taught to be dominating, successful and to take risks.

However, there is a new trend among very young women which might change women's road safety record. Young women pass their tests as early as young men. They quickly buy their own car and get lots of driving practice and reach nearly the same level of dexterity behind the wheel.

Accident statistics show that precisely the very young women drivers are as reckless as their young male peers. Does this mean that we can expect most women in future to have the same driving habits as men?

Female emancipation explains to some extent reckless driving among young women. They belong to a different generation. They are more assertive than their mothers. And of course this attitude finds expression in their driving habits.

There is no biological reason why women should drive worse than men. The evidence suggests the opposite. Young girls mature earlier than boys.

A one-year-old baby girl is a month more mature than a boy of the same age. At puberty they have a two-year lead.

But Professor Rollett says girls have been up to now denied the benefits of this. Society has put up with or encouraged boys' inquisitiveness whereas girls have been restricted, sheltered and taught to be passive.

She is convinced that the problems women have with parking originate from this. An education like this, she says, "makes it difficult for women to orientate themselves well."

However, women should not despair. Orientation training can improve performance.

Women overcome aggression differently to men. In her opinion it can be proved that men react more aggressively to frustration than women. Women are more likely to keep their cool. Which explains why they are less likely to be aggressive drivers.

Research shows that men and women have a similar idea of what makes a good driver. But when it comes to evaluating themselves the sexes diverge from one another.

Men are inclined to rate themselves higher than the average driver. Whereas women are content to rate themselves as average.

Ingmar Keller

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 22 February 1988)

Late-night weekend bus service runs disco kids home

Tostedt, a small town midway between Hamburg and Bremen, has introduced a disco express to ferry teenagers home at weekends.

Erwin Becker, bus entrepreneur and local councillor, had the idea. He has spent the last 12 months fighting for his brainchild.

Young people returning home at weekends from discos were often involved in accidents. Becker's own foster-daughter was killed in an accident after taking a lift from drunken friends.

Becker called on the authorities to provide a low-fare bus to take teenagers on Friday and Saturday nights to and from two popular discotheques.

Teenagers like the idea. Sixteen-year-old Knut said: "I think it's really good. I don't need to pester other people for a lift."

Seventeen-year-old Sabine is also delighted. "I used to have to phone my parents for a lift home from the disco. Now they can sleep peacefully knowing that I'm in safe hands."

Tostedt's seven local authorities and neighbouring Hollenstedt decided two months ago to invest DM35 per evening in the experiment. Becker started organising things right away. The town's young people took to it immediately.

Eighteen-year-old Angela said: "I heard about it at school. A return ticket costs only two marks."

Becker has had to switch to a Berlin double-decker to meet the demand. It takes 120 passengers if you include standing room.

The bus leaves the south of the town at ten to eight. It arrives at the first disco at 21.25 and ten minutes later at the second one.

The disco fans have no complaints. Seventeen-year-old Jürgen said: "I don't find the journey long or boring. The driver plays good music and the atmosphere is great."

The bus used to go back to town at half past eleven. But this was too early for most people. It now leaves an hour later.

If someone wants to switch discos he can do so with the bus. Student Jörg Küchemann, the driver, is delighted with his passengers.

The teenagers, he said, "are always in good form. I know most of them and we have lots of fun together. Most of all I'm pleased that hardly anyone drinks alcohol."

Becker believes that the bus would be empty if the authorities made the bus pay its own way. But the authorities are now subsidising each person and journey to the tune of seven marks. Young boys and girls only have to pay two marks of their own.

The only snag is that disco boys and girls who live way out of town have to be content with getting home at about three in the morning.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 8 February 1988)

Continued from page 3

Pact, with 48 fully-operational divisions, will have exceeded the operational minimum of 42 divisions needed for a large-scale first-wave attack in Central Europe.

Nato in contrast needs five days to put its initial defence line-up of 30 divisions on a combat footing.

The East's edge in time will continue and steadily increase. Take the 60 divisions needed to reinforce the attack.

By virtue of its ability to send in existing Soviet reserves the Warsaw Pact should clearly exceed this target by having 68 divisions in position within four to five days.

Nato in contrast will take a fortnight to increase its strength from 30 to 36 divisions.

Within seven days of starting to move in reinforcements the Warsaw Pact should be in a position to deploy 86 divisions in the Central and Western European battle area. Within 20 days it should have 124 divisions deployed.

This reinforcement and offensive capability is a key characteristic of the Warsaw Pact's ability to invade Western Europe, ensuring swifter and more substantial reinforcements.

It is also the main problem of military stability where European security is concerned — due to the pressure exerted by the East's conventional superiority in view of the overwhelming predominance of Soviet military power in Europe.

Arms control negotiations must aim mainly at eliminating this predominance if Europe is to gain in security.

Lothar Rühl

(Welt am Sonntag, Hamburg, 21 February 1988)

Poor eyesight is a killer at the wheel

Eye doctors have called for laws against driving with bad eyesight at dusk and at night-time. Doctors believe that bad vision at these times is a major cause of traffic accidents.

Dr Aulhorn from Tübingen and Dr Gramberg-Danielsen from Hamburg made the call at an annual conference of eye specialists held in Wiesbaden.

German law requires drivers to pass a sight test to prove they have adequate vision for day-time driving. The doctors want the same tests used for dusk and night-time driving.

Experts have long believed that bad vision is a major cause of accidents at dusk and night. Pedestrians are particularly ar risk.

Man can see well during the day. But at night he reaches his limitations. Darkness halves sharpness of vision and the ability to perceive differences in luminosity. Street lighting as bright as daylight is the only answer to this physiological fact.

It's impossible to build lamps so bright. So man has to adjust his driving style to the limited abilities of his eyes. Which for the most part means driving slower.

Dr Aulhorn pointed out that man's bad vision at night lowers his powers of perception. He reacts slower and needs more time and distance to stop.

Even people with good vision should not drive faster than 80 kph on roads. Driving faster than this limit was playing with death.

Pedestrians who walk on the edges of footpaths are most at risk. It is difficult for drivers to see them. They do not stand out against a background and disappear completely if the driver sees strong lights coming from the opposite direction.

Unlit streets are particularly dangerous for them. Dr Aulhorn found that 90 per cent of accidents cases which come before the courts happen where the street lighting is poor.

People with eye disorders and the elderly suffer most when it gets dark. Age affects the quality of vision more at dusk and at night than during the day. Many old people who can see reasonably well without glasses during the day have to wear them at night.

Süddeutsche Zeitung

This is why the two doctors are puzzled that there is no law restricting driving at night and dusk to people with minimum levels of vision. Particularly since the tests involved are easy to give.

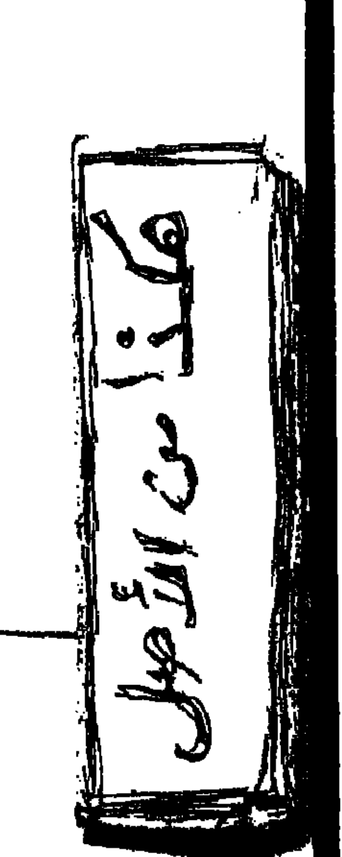
The call was supported by other doctors but not by the European Commission in Brussels, which has not shown the slightest interest.

The Germans have been told to put their own house in order before they start laying down the law for the rest of the European Community.

Yet it would be unpractical to go it alone. Brussels plans to introduce a uniform European driving license. Drivers could get around German regulations.

So it looks like as if things will stay the way they are. Which means the number of accidents at night caused by fast drivers with poor eyesight will remain the same.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 5 February 1988)



■ PHILOSOPHY

New look at Schopenhauer, born 200 years ago

NÜRNBERGER Nachrichten

Interest has been renewed in Arthur Schopenhauer, born in Danzig 200 years ago, an interest underlined less by the publication of letters or selections from his works than by the publication of a new edition of his collected works.

A few new books have recently been brought out on Schopenhauer but they are not academic works. They appeal more to a larger audience.

The new interest in Schopenhauer is something different to what Thomas Mann said in expressing his homage to the philosopher.

Mann stressed Schopenhauer's philosophy of sexuality, but now the interest is in his criticism of Hegel and rejection of the belief in progress.

The current spate of interest centres on his emotive reaction to the unalterable "suffering in the world."

In his 1987 biography Rüdiger Safranski said that people were drawn to Schopenhauer because he complained passionately about the inconsiderate egoism with which men furthered their own ends without surrendering his belief in a moral corrective.

This is a complaint very relevant to our times. In our society, be it in road traffic or in politics, egoism and a lack of consideration are very much in evidence.

But it is questionable whether Schopenhauer's philosophy is suitable to explain and assess this phenomenon rationally. Furthermore a retreat towards Schopenhauer could be dangerous.

Schopenhauer very much favoured the unilateral judgment and extreme consequences — the other side of German profundity that Mann remembered to praise in him.

For Schopenhauer the power that dominates all life, which he called will, is absolutely negative. That is not to be understood in a naive religious sense.

Schopenhauer argued, rather, that the will drove us to enormous efforts to satisfy our needs — but we chased after illusions.

Tirelessly he repeated that *real* satisfaction did not exist, particularly in love.

One desired a person indeed and did everything to possess that person — but when one had achieved one's objective then the other instantly lost all his or her attractions.

That is hardly the last word in erotic wisdom, as many intellectuals in this century believe. Rather it is the classical expression of German prudery — in Schopenhauer there is no sense of devotion and sexual harmony.

His irritating omissions about the blind power of the will and pleasure without joy make one think of people who do not get beyond the experience of a routine hour or two with a girl.

Because Schopenhauer did not take devotion into account sexual demands were egoistic in his view — the male just used the female's body.

This led him to the pithy and harsh comment: Man's desires are infinite and consequently cannot possibly be satisfied. When one desire is satisfied, a dozen others take its place, Hydra-head like, and even if all desires are satisfied the result could only be boredom.

He added that aims were often only attained after years of striving, but satisfaction was only momentary. He asserted that pain was positive, pleasure negative, the mere relief from pain.

The only person who knows real love is the person who does not want to love and loves the other platonically because he or she sees in the other a person who *is suffering* equally.

For Schopenhauer the only answer is asceticism, the practice of disciplining oneself. This alone frees a person from meaningless desire and the vanity of one's own sexual egoism.

This is extreme but it is precisely this that was the seductive quality of his philosophy — and still is today. Not because people go along with his prudish view of sexuality but rather because people are disappointed with the sexual revolution.

The relaxation of moral compulsion has not brought all denial to an end. People ask themselves if Utopia does not lie within the realm of Schopenhauer's radical denial? Does denial not promise redemption — in some way?

Schopenhauer repeated over and over again that when the will was broken there was no longer any pain, no longer any suffering.

Schopenhauer looked at other movements of the will in the light of this redemption philosophy. If this will is directed towards wealth, power or glory it cannot really be satisfied.

For no sooner is an aim achieved than it loses all its value and fantasy forces a person on to the next objective.

Socially those who follow the laws of egoism harm others. In doubt he or she sacrifices the others' happiness to his or her advantage.

For Schopenhauer this confirmed what his considerations on sexuality had already told him — one only has inner and external peace if one rejects the world. The consequence must be asceticism.

Schopenhauer had no time for the objection that could be raised from Hegel's *Philosophy of Right,* namely that it is possible to subjugate egoism by social controls and bind it to rules of law and justice.

Schopenhauer would not have denied these possibilities. He conceded that he could imagine a society that was so perfectly organised that there was no injustice.

But this did not rescue a person from the basic evil of the everlastingly dissatisfied will and the inner preparedness of all to fight against everyone.

For this reason the philosophical thinker must accept the consequences of asceticism.

The longing for redemption that Schopenhauer's thought arouses leads to the standpoint of all-or-nothing.

If certain societies are unthinkable with a compassionate and platonic love, then theoretically it is not crucial whether one person is better able to control his conflicts or another.

Put in another way: if the peace of paradise and Utopia are not to be had, then one has to look for it in nothingness.

This suggestion is dangerous, particularly for our times. It can seduce one to defeatism, no longer to form and cultivate impulse and will but to give oneself up to defeat and destruction fantasies.

Ulrich Horstmann has done this in his essay in *Der Spiegel* on Schopenhauer.



Arthur Schopenhauer

(Photo: Archiv)

He takes the view that the consequences of Schopenhauer's philosophy, asceticism, is basically outmoded and harmless.

He pointed out that today people have other possibilities of producing the peace of nothingness, the atomic bomb. People who unthinkingly plan this are "priests" of the teaching of the denial of will in life.

This excessiveness is perhaps silly but it makes clear what is today so attractive about Schopenhauer's philosophy.

His thought is capable of causing anxiety in our society today. His ideas, or better still his major themes, cannot be ignored.

It is only to be hoped that the discussion does not break away from his standards and judge will and egoism calmly and without German *profundity.*

Joachim Campe

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 20 February 1988)

Heidegger is reappraised in Heidelberg

Fifty years after the publication of *Being and Time* Martin Heidegger is again a major talking point in the media, in universities and university coffee shops in France and Germany, so much so that you could be excused for imagining, as many do, that he was one of the most powerful thinkers of this century.

It really is too bad he allied himself with National Socialism in 1933, that he let down his Jewish friends and compromised himself in many other ways.

It is hair-raising that he ever trusted the Nazis to bring about his dream of a revolutionary renewal of humanism.

In his 1920s analysis he replaced the rubbish of Western metaphysics with his humanism of "hard, sharp, decisive" men.

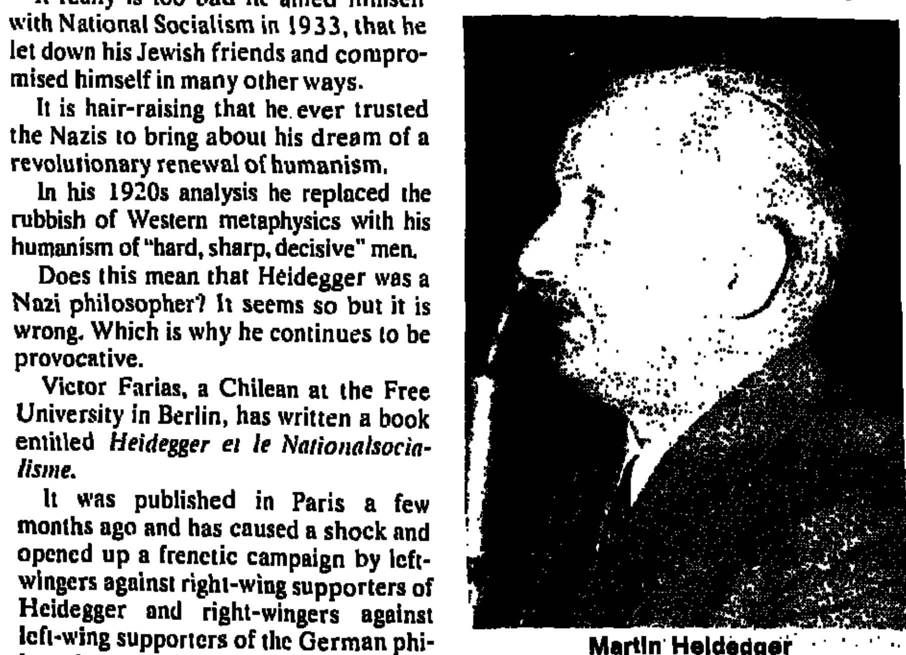
Does this mean that Heidegger was a Nazi philosopher? It seems so but it is wrong. Which is why he continues to be provocative.

Victor Farias, a Chilean at the Free University in Berlin, has written a book entitled *Heidegger et le Nationalsocialisme.*

It was published in Paris a few months ago and has caused a shock and opened up a frenetic campaign by left-wingers against right-wing supporters of Heidegger and right-wingers against left-wing supporters of the German philosopher.

These included the left-wingers of the 1960s who were the most virulent against Heidegger's philosophy which was regarded as falling between two stools.

Two people in particular came to Heidelberg to have their say in the dispute about Heidegger: Philippe Lacoue-Labarthe from Strasbourg, whose book *La Fiction du Politique* examines the philosophical bases of National Socialism and European fascism; and Jacques Derrida from Paris, a sceptic and a word-smith in his ironical discussion of the post-moderns.



Martin Heidegger

(Photo: Ullstein)

Since 1946 and Jean-Paul Sartre's article about Heidegger in the first issue of *Temps Modernes,* Heidegger the German philosopher and National Socialism have been a matter of interest to French intellectuals.

Robert Minder, a French Germanist of considerable repute, wrote in 1966: "Generations of thinkers have been influenced by this philosophy, getting carried away beyond themselves or else put out of joint."

This was the case with Heidegger's former pupils Hannah Arendt, Günther Anders, Herbert Marcuse and Karl Löwith.

They learned to think in his broad terms, as did young French intellectuals.

None of them became Nazis; everyone came though the Nazi era in his or her own fashion and went beyond its teaching.

What is all this public excitement about Heidegger for them?

It affected them. They saw themselves suddenly subjected to a a witch-hunt and it worried them.

Their anxiety was based on a dreadful simplification; the air of self-assurance with which they described Heidegger as a Nazi and the ease with which they passed sentence on his thought without ever having read a line he had written.

They said that "we should be watchful that we did not reproduce again what we had fought against."

Lacoue-Labarthe, who has sharply criticised Heidegger elsewhere, advised: "Let us protect ourselves from left-wing totalitarianism."

Did his listeners in the capacity-filled lecture hall catch their breath? Did they understand that intellectuals were addressing them there who were anxious about the sowing of the dragon's teeth of fascism?

There were also people in this country guilty of dreadful simplifications. Derrida said that Heidegger's involve-

Continued on page 15

■ FILMS

Chinese entry wins the Golden Bear

The jury for the 38th Berlin Film Festival showed in no uncertain terms that it was independent. It passed over the contributions from the major American companies and gave gold and silver to China and Argentina.

Their entries were quite out of the ordinary thematically and cinematically thanks to their powerful film language.

The winner of the Golden Bear, *Das rote Kornfeld,* was Zhang Yimou's first film. It tells the story of contentment and blood and tears from a Chinese ballad of the 1920s when grandfather and grandmother married and worked in the cornfields that murmured and swayed like an evil flood.

The film is finely constructed but the narrative is horrifying, like a barbaric saga, although visually it is a delight to watch.

China has achieved cinéaste status. The times of gaudy Chinese opera are past and the jury took notice of this.

It can be disputed if Miguel Pereira's *La deuda interna* was better or not so good as the Chinese film. The jury gave the film a silver, which delighted the critics for the Argentine film was their favourite.

It is a cool, calm, gold-gleaming narrative set in a village in the Andes in north-west Argentina.

A teacher learns of the death of an Indian boy he had taught years before. The boy had been killed in the Falklands War, his father had disappeared into prison during the Junta regime.

It is a touching, poetic story taken from recent Argentine history.

The jury's special silver prize was awarded to Aleksandro Askoldov's 20-year-old *Die Kommissarin* which the international jury of critics, under the chairmanship of Guglielmo Biraghi, saw as a milestone film for cinéastes.

Biraghi and the jury were not overpowered by the dull, run-of-the-mill major productions from the US.

Die Kommissarin is filmed in black and white and is captivating. The camera work is in the best traditions of the "Russian school."

The Americans only came in fourth — Norman Jewson's *Moonstruck* was awarded a silver for best director.

A mischievous moon transforms the lives of some Italo-Brooklynites. Widow Loretta (Cher), engaged to Johnny, falls head-over-heels for his estranged younger brother Ronnie (John Cage) while Johnny is home in Sicily on family business.

Loretta's mother learns that her plumber husband Cosmo has been unfaithful. After an eye-opening semi-fling of her own with a stranger passing in the night, she demands that her husband make amends for his emotional wrongs.

It is bitter-sweet stuff, wonderfully dotty. Jewson handles it all with tenderness and aplomb. His direction is giddy but compassionate.

The best actress award did not go to Jane Birkin for her role as the lover in Agnès Varda's *Kung Fu Master,* a homage to the Lolita idea. She was expected to win an award.

Instead it went to American actress Holly Hunter. This was a kind of concession; a tribute to the star-studded productions from America.

James L. Brook's film *News Fever* in which Holly Hunter plays the main role as a newscaster is real fodder for the public.

There's nothing against that, but the Berlin Jury is to be commended that it did not feel compelled to give the film a main prize.

The best actor awards went to Jörg Pose and Manfred Möck for their performances in the GDR film *Einer trage des anderen Last.*

Here it seemed that the jury had in mind the idea of sharing out the goodies equally, although this award hardly hit the mark. In this year's Berlin Festival there were few really fine acting performances.

Even rarer were films whose directors went in for the experimental. With the sole exception of the Agnès Varda contribution most of the entries were more or less directed in a doughty manner, but they were certainly not what would be regarded as "modern."

There were three divisions for the narratives; a political story line taken from the country's history, then the story about finding oneself and finally the love story, sometimes told in a humorous vein.

Seen overall the thematic material seemed to cover a wide range, but seen close up the range grew narrower.

The Berlin Film Festival hovers between Cannes and Venice, between commercial filming and the artistically ambitious "Autorenfilm." This time round the festival was faceless.

It was hardly an answer to the Hollywood trade show. There were too many countries that just did not turn up so that the selection was too narrow.

Where were the Italians, for instance? Or the Scandinavians?

Their absence could not be explained by the fact that the Italian and Scandinavian film industries are going through a crisis. Rather it was carelessness.

The East-West axis was obvious. American and the East Bloc countries manifestly regard the Berlin Festival as important — the Polish contribution, *Mutter Krol und ihre Söhne,* was given the award for best film script.

There was not so much of interest on the North-South axis. There was not just a lack of interest; there was nothing.

The inclusion of an obligatory contribution from Herbert Achternbusch in the main programme was the height of bad taste. *Wohin?* was screened as an example of "alternative film art" and was tasteless in the extreme, if only because one of the actors is Kurt Raab, dying of Aids.

The festival management could well be asked "wozu?" — why?

Ruprecht Skasa-Weiss

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 24 February 1988)

A scene from Zhang Yimou's Golden Bear-winning entry to the Berlin film festival, 'Das rote Kornfeld'

(Photo: Filmfestspiele Berlin)

Berlin's 'fringe' film festival has been held for 20 years

The public for the "Forum des Jungen Films" at the Berlin Film Festival is a distinctive entity and its temple is the Delphi Cinema in Berlin, which night after night is filled to capacity.

There is still a touch of 1968 about the event, the year in which the Forum was founded. It is an extension and a corrective to the main film event in Berlin.

Over the years the differences between the main festival and the "fringe" festival have levelled out, partly due to the development of cinema in the 1980s.

It is now easy to imagine the three-hour-long Chinese film epic set in the 18th century, *Die Romanze von Buch und Schwert* made by Ann Hui in the main festival as well as the new film from Herbert Achternbusch, *Wohin?*

Once more the Forum presented a range of films from the Third World, including several from India, and American independents.

The delight in experimentation was obvious, perfection had a laming effect, as in *Verdammnis,* a film by Hungarian director Béla Tarr, a sad Tarkowski parable filmed in black and white.

Since its establishment there has been one feature of the Forum that has been of particular interest — the discussions that take place after the screening of a film, usually with the director or actor in the film just shown available to answer questions.

Films today are more inward-looking than ever before. The old concepts of structure and content are no longer valid.

Directors make films about themselves, their work in films and the pleasure they get from it.

Luc Moullet has been in films for 20 years. His latest is in fact entitled *La comédie du travail* and deals with the unemployed.

Here he is little known, one of the heroes of the Nouvelle Vague. His film, and the latest by his colleague, Jean-Luc Godard's *Soigne ta droite* (which was not screened in the Forum but in the Panorama section of the main festival) is an act of homage to the gods of Nouvelle Vague, "the world according to Tati."

It seems as if many critics and film fans are no longer prepared to go along with the French. Audiences and critics alike think that the French with their inconsequential sequences are not being serious enough.

It has become harder to understand our world, private affairs get mixed up in politics, the subjective with the objective. The frontiers of the present and the future are wiped out. Today political films are per se science fiction.

Two British films showed this. In *Friendship's Death,* directed by Peter Wollen, a female E. T. from a foreign galaxy comes to Amman in the "Black September" of 1970, which ended with the expulsion of the Palestinians from Jordan.

The female E.T. forgets her mission and identifies herself with the exiles.

Derek Jarman's *The Last of England* — in 1986 he won a Silver at the Berlin Festival for his *Caravaggio* — is a brief look at the 1980s, a world of junk and junkies including conflagrations and ruin, family life and colonial rituals and masturbation in the middle of rubbish.

The frames come with a machine-gun staccato and look like decomposition from an atomic fallout.

The desert is made green again in *Yeelen/Das Licht,* directed by Souleymane Cisse, an initiation story from Mali.

This film ends with the setting of the sun, with the return to light.

Cisse said: "With this film I wanted to counter the view from the outside, from white scientists and technicians, from the foreign view, which has the tendency of regarding Africans simply as objects."

Jean Rouch is a white film-maker who tries to put his own insights, but not as a foreigner, into the films he has made in Africa.

He was represented by several films at this year's Forum. In *Folie ordinaire d'une fille de Cham* and *Enigma* he tried to explore the world between fiction and documentary.

He filmed Turin as the city of Nietzsche and de Chirico which brought him very close to the imaginative realities of Rivette and Raoul Ruiz.

Rouch worked on a film with Ruiz about Norwegian icebreakers (which was screened at the Panorama section of the Festival), a magical trip into the intermediate world between water and land, between dream and reality.

The latest film by Rudolf Thome, one of the few German film-makers from the Nouvelle Vague movement, is another "tour along the ridge of the mountains."

Das Mikroskop is an improvisation on "Man's favourite sport," about men and women, who try out ways of living together.

Their ill-concealed insecurity makes the film sincere and touching. Thome calls it a comedy that does not define too clearly the line between invented story and real life.

The great Italian actor Totò functions in a similar way. At midnight on the last evening of the Forum a small workshop was devoted to him and his work.

He made more than 100 films, a few with Italian greats such as Rossellini and Pasolini.

Totò, the proletarian king of Naples, did not need plots and direction. He made his films himself, pure neo-realism.

His characters can be found on the streets, shameless and depressed, wretched and light-hearted all at the same time.

This was a comical and convincing guarantee that the cinema can do without "Autoren."

Fritz Göttler

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 24 February 1988)

■ ENVIRONMENT

Baltic pollution convention: too little too late?

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

When fishermen cast their nets off the west coast of Sweden the situation is always alarming. The shoals that swim in the Kattegat, between northern Jutland and the Swedish coast, would normally be at home in the Baltic.

The reason why they no longer are is that the Baltic, all 386,000 square kilometres of it, is chronically short of oxygen.

Hake, herring and salmon that normally live in the Baltic head for the open sea and swim straight into the Kattegat fishermen's nets.

There are natural reasons for the asphyxiation from which they seek to escape. The brackish water of the Baltic needs a periodic oxygen boost in the form of gale force winds that send sufficient quantities of "fresh" sea water in from the North Sea via the narrow Baltic approaches.

Baltic water is slow to recuperate. On average it spends 30 years in the Baltic before flowing through the Skagerrak back into the North Sea.

A layer of warmer, less salt water lies on top of the water that flows in from the North Sea. The two layers seldom mix. It takes gales to ensure a transfer of atmospheric oxygen to the deeper strata.

There have been few gales in recent years, with the result that lower strata are lacking in oxygen.

That alone would not have had serious consequences had man not dramatically worsened this natural imbalance. Agricultural fertiliser, industrial effluent and polluted river water flow into the Baltic in bulk, transforming what once was a pure inland sea into a cesspool.

Manmade water and atmospheric pollution sends one million tonnes of nitrogen, 55,000 tonnes of phosphorus and 2.5m tonnes of other oxygen-consuming substances into the sea.

Nutrients in fertiliser and effluent feed algae, which make short shrift of the oxygen in the sea water. At a depth of 100 metres there is none left. The Baltic is dead — devoid of biological life.

An area consisting of 100,000 square miles of seabed is already biologically dead, and death is swiftly gaining further, higher ground.

Last autumn marine biologists registered fish dying at depths of 60 metres, while coastal waters are rank with mercury, cadmium, lead, zinc, copper, arsenic and oil pollution.

The seven Baltic states drafted the Helsinki convention 14 years ago. Finland was first to ratify it, on 27 June 1975. The Federal Republic of Germany was the last of the seven to do so, about five years later. Signatories undertake to reduce pollution of the Baltic "as far as possible" and "by the best available means." Since 1980 they have held annual sessions of a Helsinki commission to draw up guidelines for Baltic purification. It is making headway, but the going is slow. The use of toxic DDT and PCB has been largely prohibited. Five years ago Sweden and Denmark banned imports of Baltic cod liver because it contained too much poison.

The Baltic states

NORTH SEA, SWEDEN, FINLAND, Helsinki, Leningrad, Stockholm, DENMARK, BALTIC, Copenhagen, USSR, Hamburg, GDR, POLAND, FED. REP. GERMANY, Berlin, Warsaw, 300km, INDEX FUNK 2916

Sea birds no longer nested in the Baltic. Seals lost teeth and claws, declining in number from 100,000 to 1,500. The DDT and PCB counts have since declined.

Biologists say the heavy metal counts out to sea, as opposed to the still heavily polluted coastal waters, are no longer alarmingly high.

But oxygen starvation has increased due to an increase in nutrient inflow. "The Baltic is still not in better condition," says Göte Svensson of Sweden, head of the Helsinki commission, "but were it not for the commission it would be even worse off."

Improvements are slow to materialise, and reality is only sluggishly catching up with the splendidly-worded resolutions the commission approves.

At their latest session in the Finnish capital the Environment Ministers of Finland, Sweden, Denmark, Poland, the Soviet Union and the two German states agreed to halve their input of nutrient, heavy metal and organic toxins by 1995.

But the recommendations of the Helsinki commission are only morally binding, and where the colossal cost of coping with environmental pollution is concerned, moral standards can leave much to be desired.



Vaguely worded

Besides, the resolution vaguely states that the reduction is "for instance (to be) in the region of 50 per cent."

What does "for instance" mean? Does it perhaps mean that 40 per cent will also do? And if it definitely means 50 per cent, then 50 per cent of what? No base year is specified.

Instead, agreement was reached on banning the culling of seals, which is relatively unimportant. Only the Finns still culled them, killing a mere 100 seals a year.

The Western countries marshalled the statistics to pillory Poland and the Soviet Union as the worst pollution offenders. Yet in terms of Baltic coast mileage the track records of Denmark or the Federal Republic are little better.

Besides, environment experts have justifiable doubts about the accuracy of official pollution statistics.

Polish Environment Minister Waldemar Michna proudly announced in the Finnish capital that his country's investment in environmental protection was to increase by nine per cent. But nine per cent of what?

Countries that have so far done little or nothing to prevent pollution (and the Vistula estuary is said to be the most heavily polluted sector of the Baltic) can readily, but insignificantly, claim high growth rates in pollution control investment.

Swedish Environment Minister Birgitta Dahl complained that Finland and the Soviet Union refused to accept her proposal to set a clear deadline for purification of paper and cellulose industry effluent, which contains a high chlorine count.

But Sweden is worried less about Baltic pollution (its cellulose industry has long been one of the worst environmental offenders) than about the competitive position of Swedish paper manufacturers.

If Finnish manufacturers are to continue to be allowed to pump four to five kilograms of organic chlorine compounds per tonne of paper into the Baltic, as against a Swedish ceiling of 1.5kg, the Finns will enjoy an unfair competitive advantage.

The Baltic is a cesspool, not a repository of toxic waste. One of the Helsinki commission's successes has been to agree to a ban on dumping or incinerating poison at sea.

Yet oxygen starvation is no less serious. The culprits are farmers who overfertilise their land and industry, which pumps untreated effluent into rivers and the sea.

Private households are no mean offenders either with their overconsumption of detergent and cleansing agents.

Even if purification plant and sewage treatment investment were to be given priority and a fertiliser ban on river banks were to be strictly enforced, it would still be decades before the Baltic rescue bid could be declared a success.

That is how long it takes brackish Baltic water to be exchanged for fresh water from the North Sea.

The Baltic will face a further threat to its oxygen intake once bridges are built across the Belt and the Öresund, limiting fresh water access from the North Sea.

Hannes Gamillscheg

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 19 February 1988)

■ HEALTH

Tailor-made treatment of chronic pain holds forth promise of relief



Scientists see progress on endorphines, or natural morphines, as the key to more effective treatment of chronic pain.

West Germany has three million sufferers from acute chronic pain. Therapy has failed some 400,000 of them.

Many suffer from head and back pains. Health insurance companies say chronic backache alone accounts for 13 million lost working days a year.

Sick leave and early retirement caused by pain cost the German economy an annual DM30m.

Pain has become a constant companion for many people. Incurable tumour patients suffer in agony until they die.

The mind's subconscious can also cause pain. Once pain has become chronic it determines thinking, feelings and daily routines.

Chronic pain was long the poor relation of medicine, with doctors slow to pay it any attention. But they have changed their minds, as Germany's increasing number of successful pain clinics shows.

Intensive research into the causes and characteristics of pain is the reason for their success. The findings of basic research flow directly into clinical procedures in the clinics.

Pain forms in the body when nociceptors, receptors which respond to and transmit painful stimuli, are stimulated.

They send mechanical, chemical or thermal signals to the spinal cord that are fed into its nerve cells.

Messenger chemicals play a major role in passing pain impulses from nociceptors to neurons. These molecular neuro-transmitters wait at synapses - points where nerve impulses pass between two neurons.

Electric signals shake the molecules into a cleft between the synapses where they form a bridge. Nerve impulses cross over the next neuron where the procedure is repeated.

The body has different chemicals for activating and inhibiting pain signals. Endorphines are neuro-transmitters which act as inhibitors in the spinal cord.

The place where the body starts processing pain is the spinal cord, and research is concentrating on this part of the body for clues on pain.

Professor Manfred Zimmermann of Heidelberg University physiology department says:

"The processing of pain signals starts in the spinal cord, which means it's possible to modify the information there."

Endorphines are morphines produced by the body similar in structure to opium-alkaloid morphine. Both substances inhibit neurons at junctions called opium receptors. Which explains how opium works as a pain-killer.

The discovery of endorphines has been probably the most important milestone on the road to treating chronic pain.

There are twelve known endorphines. There are other important neuro-transmitters as well. Called neuro-peptides, they also process pain signals.

New information on how the central nervous system inhibits pain has led to two new therapies. One of these is spinal opiate analgesia. Morphine is usually used.

It is passed through a tube into the spinal cord. During operations it represses for twelve hours pain messages passing from the nociceptors to the neurons. This keeps the body's temperature and sensory and motor functions active.

Local anaesthetics used in the same way used to cause numbness and even temporary paralysis in the lower parts of the body.

Patients with acute chronic pain who have to be continually treated with the drug are connected at the spine to a catheter tube.

A mechanically or electronically controlled reservoir can be transplanted under the skin. It's a similar procedure to putting in a heart pacemaker.

A small pump transports the drug to neurons. The patient can control the regularity and amount of the dosage himself.

The second method of fighting pain is known as TENS, short for transcutaneous electrical nerve stimulation. It is very effective for treating muscle or skeletal pains, neuralgia, injuries and real or imaginary post-operational pains.

Small electrodes are attached to the skin. The patient controls the impulses with a device. This tingles a bit but the pain soon disappears.

In certain cases, instead of stimulating nerves through the skin, electrodes can be put directly on the spinal cord or interbrain, the portion of brain derived from the second cerebral vesicle. Doctors use this as a last resort for tumour patients.

All stimulation treatment is based on using electrical impulses to continually release pain inhibiting neuro-transmitters like endorphines or serotonin, a crystalline protein, to smother sensations of pain.

Endorphines, like morphine, latch on to many different opiate receptors on nerve cells. Such receptors are responsible in varying degrees for the side-effects of opiates as well as their pain-killing effects.

Doctors want to be able to tailor medicines to patients' needs. They could then activate specific pain-killing qualities of receptors yet still avoid any side-effects.

Side-effects are dependent on the kind of treatment used. Hospitals and clinics have had good results with cancer patients by giving them opiates orally. This made the danger of dependency or respiratory depression a slim one.

Researchers are also studying pain-killing medicines which work on pain in the central nervous system, where it is composed of the brain and spinal cord.

Two substances are used: a traditional one called Nefopam hydrochloride and a new one called Flupirtin which has no narcotic side-effects.

A combined dose of anti-depressive drugs and pain-killers can break the vicious circle of pain, fear and depression which often develops.

Aspirin, the old standby, and other similar tablets available over the counter can also be beneficial.

New developments in surgery also offer hope for sufferers from the most severe pain.

Thermo-coagulation probes melt their way through tissue with heat and stop pain by separating peripheral nerves. Trigeminus neuralgia can be handled in this way.

The dorsal root entry zone is a new operation. DREZ is used for back injuries usually received in car or motorcycle accidents.

Surgeons coagulate the point of entry of nerves flowing into the base of the spine.

However in a lot of cases the cause of pain remains a mystery. For this reason, psychologists have become more involved in therapy.

Heidelberg psychologist Hanne Seemann says: "The mind plays a major role in all kinds of pain. The mind and body are inseparable.

"Doctors will have to find out how important the patient's mental state is to him. Pain is often caused by problems in the patient's life."

Dr Seemann works with Professor Zimmermann at the university's psychosomatic clinic. They jointly arranged a conference on pain in Heidelberg.

Scientists, specialists and general practioners met and exchanged information on new treatment and problem cases.

Many psychologists work with pain-distancing techniques. These enable the patient to push his pain beyond the threshold of perception.

The patient tries to improve his spirits by concentrating on other things. He practises enjoying his imagination and projects the pleasant feelings which result onto the affected part of his body.

Hypnosis can be very helpful here. The patient can be hypnotised to stop thinking about his pain.

The patient is of prime importance. It's important for the patient to be self-reliant. He has to make the effort himself to overcome his pain.

It's important for doctors and nurses to encourage him. But it's more important for the patient to overcome pain through his own volition.

Wolfgang Silvanus

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 13 February 1988)

Continued from page 6

even when the brakes aren't applied. It is a patience that can hardly be expected of the people it puts out of work.

Those who lose their jobs or fail to find one in the first place are entitled to social security. They can, in turn, be expected to retrain in keeping with labour market trends and so improve their chances of finding a new job.

Even if investments running into billions are now envisaged, much of what is planned and is desirable for the Ruhr is embarrassingly small-scale and unspectacular.

There is no such thing as a grand design that will solve all economic problems at one fell swoop.

It is 20 years since leading companies such as Opel could set up a new works in, say, Bochum and create tens of thousands of new jobs.

Peter Christ

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 26 February 1988)

■ THE LAW

Legal system paved way for Third Reich

In 1933 a majority of German judges, public prosecutors and court officials were quick to accept anti-semitism, exaggerated German nationalism and obedience to authority. They had arguably already paved the way for the Nazi takeover. This article by Renate Faerber-Husemann reviews four recent books dealing with the influence of the Nazis on the legal system.

For decades no-one has particularly wanted to discuss the role of the judiciary in Germany from the Weimar Republic to the present.

The excesses of the People's Court during the Third Reich were seen as an exception. The contribution the courts of justice made to the downfall of the Weimar Republic was neither mentioned in schoolbooks nor discussed in public.

The rise and fall of Hans Karl Filbinger, a former naval judge and prime minister of Baden-Württemberg, led to a fresh lookat the law in the first half of this century and its effect on the young Federal Republic in the post-war years.

Filbinger defended his wartime death sentences by saying: "What was right then cannot be wrong now."

In the meantime there have been attempts to fill in the omissions and interested lay people can today get hold of interesting books written by republican lawyers.

Politische Justiz 1918-1933 by Heinrich Hannover and Elisabeth Hannover-Drück is almost a classic. After 20 years of neglect it has been reprinted.

It is a political thriller with an exciting end. All too often convictions were condemned and judged instead of criminal deeds. Right-wing offenders could count on understanding.

Left-wingers, intellectuals, workers and artists suffered from the enmity of a legal system that looked back to the glories of empire.

The authors confirmed this by quoting statistics from mathematician Professor Gumbel. He calculated in 1921 that for the 314 assassinations of left-wingers since 9 November 1918 the courts had handed down 31 years and three months in prison sentences and one sentence for life imprisonment.

For the 13 murders committed by left-wingers the judges hung eight and handed down sentences totalling 176 years and ten months to the others.

If Bavarian judges had done their duty properly in 1924 Hitler would have been deported as a foreigner after the November 1923 putsch.

But the court decided: "The court cannot find any reason for using legislation protecting the Republic against such a man who thinks and feels in such a German manner as does Hitler."

The view was that the enemy was among the left wing, so it was only logical that men involved in the Kapp putsch, those who were brought to justice that is, should be quickly amnestied. No pensions were approved for the dependents of their victims, however.

The concept of literary high treason became common and writers, journalists, booksellers spent time in jail thinking about the republic in which they lived.

Anyone who wants to know why the Weimar Republic was delivered to the Nazis without a fight should read this book.

In his much discussed book *Furchtbare Juristen* Ingo Müller comes to the conclusion that the legal system with a class bias prepared the ground for the Nazis.

He is a lecturer in criminal law. Justice did not have to be forced into line in 1933. Most judges, public prosecutors and law officials performed somersaults to be hastily obedient.

Anti-semitism, ideas of German nationalism, career hopes, heartlessness against the suffering of people during the economic crisis and obedience to authority came dangerously together in these men of the legal profession.

Justice dropped out of the running when, for example, the judges in the burning of the Reichstag case had to acquit all Communists accused in the trial, but nevertheless put the responsibility at the door of the German Communist Party.

The grotesque twists of justice time and time again cost thousands of people their lives.

One can only smile bitterly at a court that ruled that couples could indulge in illegal sexual intercourse "within the meaning of racial purity legislation" without having physical contact.

Müller does not agree with the ideas expressed by constitutional lawyer Carl Schmitt, still much admired today. This man outdid himself in anti-semitic statements and praised the Burning of the Books with the remark:

"We want to do without German intellectuals. They have been turfed out of Germany for all time."

Is it surprising then that even junior magistrates gave rulings based on what they felt to be "healthy public feeling" rather than on the law?

Müller writes that judges in the Third Reich did not have their like anywhere else in the world.

They were able to continue uninterruptedly in their careers after the war. Judges who were deeply involved in the Third Reich justice system headed compensation courts, others became public prosecutors for political cases.

One, who was regarded by his colleagues as a fanatic for the death penalty, Fränkel, became the chief federal prosecutor in 1962.

The careers of men such as Globke, Puvogel and Filbinger are well known. Judges who should themselves have stood in the dock ruled in the Federal Administrative Court who were enemies of the constitution.

A detailed description of their careers before and after shocked and showed many people more clearly what had happened in the Federal Republic.

The persecution of Communists (there were 125,000 investigations in the 1950s and 1960s), the ban on the employment of political extremists as teachers and civil servants, the interpretation of demonstration regulations and the fact that the Bundestag has so far not annulled the verdicts of the People's Court — these fall into place better.

Federal Republic judges have prohibited Communist students from taking the *Abitur*, the university entrance examination, and have relieved Communists of their driving licences.

Federal Republic judges, (at any rate judges in the Federal Supreme Court) have handed out mild rebukes to neo-Nazis, accused of having scrawled "Death to Wehner and Brandt" on house walls.

The judges ruled that these cases involved "expressions of displeasure of an outsider" who wanted to draw attention "to his disapproval of politicians."

Martin Hirsch, former judge in the Constitution Court, writes in a preface to the book:

"Dreadful judges were the end of justice and determined the beginning of democracy . . .It is a disturbing story which gives rise to trepidation and robs one of a night's sleep."

Little is known of the role defence lawyers played in the Third Reich. There have been stubborn rumours about the bravery of these servants of justice during these bad times.

Stefan König had his work cut out tracking down the facts for his book *Vom Dienst am Recht*. He could not turn to archives material dealing with written accusations and court judgments, which is possible when passing judgments on judges and public prosecutors.

In his book there are any number of instances which show that lawyers were not prepared quite so quickly as other people of the law to become obsequious servants of those in power.

Many of them came into conflict with the police and Gestapo and tried to do their duty as defenders of their clients.

But there is the other side to the coin. A few defenders who cannot be forgotten, lawyers who made such a man as Roland Freisler, president of the People's Court, poke fun at them.

He said that they thought themselves more like a public prosecutor than the public prosecutor himself.

The men of the 20 July 1944 assassination attempt on Hitler had to listen to public abuse from their defenders and hear them demand the death penalty.

Nevertheless this book is impressive. Much courage was shown. Many defending lawyers showed that in routine trials. König assumes that their financial independence permitted them to do this.

Anyone wanting to critically assess Nazi justice will not be able to avoid Ernst Klee's book *Was sie taten — Was sie wurden*.

He wrote the standard work, *Euthanasie im NS-Staat*, and his industry in tracking down the post-war careers of criminal medical men and law officials has unearthed shocking facts.

No-one would be suprised at the many acquittals, the protracted investigations, preferential treatment with which many Nazi criminals were dealt with by Federal Republic courts after a reading of this disturbing book in which every sentenced is covered by evidence.

This was a bitter inheritance for the Federal Republic and harmed democracy in this country and continues to do so.

Only the years up to 1945 were regarded as contemporary history just a few years ago. It is vital for the story to be carried forward. This book is evidence of one direction.

Renate Faerber-Husemann

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 31 January 1988)

Politische Justiz – 1918 bis 1933 **by Heinrich Hannover and Elisabeth Hannover-Drück. Published by Lamuv Verlag, Bornheim. 410 pages. DM29.80.**

Furchtbare Juristen. Die unbewältigte Vergangenheit unserer Justiz **by Ingo Müller. Published by Kindler Verlag, Munich. 320 pages. DM24.**

Vom Dienst am Recht **by Stefan König. Published by Verlag de Gruyter, Berlin. 260 pages. DM68.**

Was sie taten – was sie wurden **by Ernst Klee. Published by Fischer Verlag, Frankfurt. 355 pages. DM16.80.**

Nazi verdicts nullified in Hamburg

The Social and Free Democrats in Hamburg's *Bürgerschaft*, or city parliament, have decided to declare the judgments of the special courts in the Nazi period as illegal and all people condemned by them as victims of Nazi injustice.

Social Democratic councillor Johann Klarmann said that it was shameful that 40 years after the end of Nazi rule the victims of Nazi injustice had not yet been rehabilitated.

He said that the CDU/CSU-FDP majority in the Bundesrat and Bundestag must put a stop to shilly-shallying and give their attention to a legal principle.

Three years ago the Bundestag's legal committee recommended that these court rulings should be negated, but the Bundestag in full session has not yet approved this.

An attempt made in December 1985 by the Hamburg Senate for action in the Bundesrat is still on ice in the legal committee. It is expected that a decision will be made within the next few months.

The attempt currently being undertaken by the two coalition parties in the Hamburg city government would rehabilitate victims of the "Altona Bloody Sunday." This event involved a march by members of the Brown Shirts through "Red" Altona on 17 July 1932. It had important consequences at the time for the whole of the German Reich.

This clash between the Brown Shirts and Communists left 17 dead and 61 injured, many seriously, and gave the then Chancellor, Franz von Papen, the opportunity to dissolve the Prussian state government headed by Otto Braun and Carl Severing.

A year after the Altona Bloody Sunday four men were sentenced to death and hanged. The Nazis were then in power.

The then chief of police in Altona, Eggerstedt, died in Esterwegen concentration camp. He was allegedly shot "trying to escape."

The Baden-Württemberg Justice Minister, Heinz Eyrich (CDU), has raised reservations about negating Nazi court judgments.

In answer to a written parliamentary question to the Baden-Württemberg government Minister Eyrich said that there were no convincing grounds for following the Hamburg proposal and he could not see "why there was a need for a legal regulation at this time."

Another argument against a "general solution" is that acquittals would also be negated.

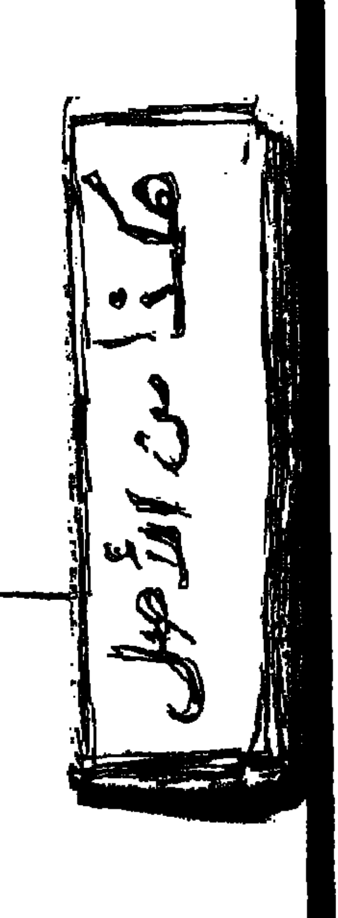
The cabinet in Stuttgart, the Baden-Württemberg state capital, claims foreign affairs considerations have coloured the state's rejection of the Hamburg position.

In a statement the Stuttgart government said that the Hamburg proposal could lead to false assumptions at home and abroad.

The legislature would lay itself open to neglect in coping with the injustices during the Third Reich.

Herbert Schütte

(Die Welt, Bonn, 16 February 1988)



■ MODERN LIVING

Job training facilities for handicapped youngsters leave much to be desired



For the past 18 months handicapped young people have been undergoing training alongside the non-handicapped at a Ruhr colliery.

The company's training workshop has recently been renovated and extended at a cost of DM500,000.

Dietmar Roth, responsible for the handicapped young people being trained at the Duisburg pit, said that the scheme had got along famously. Handicapped trainees "got on well with the other 400 young apprentices."

He said that the young people had shown every consideration for their handicapped fellow-trainees despite the fact that "the problems are quite new to us."

The handicapped were being trained in industrial mechanics and energy electronics. For safety reasons the eight currently on the course do not go underground.

In the group there are five hard of hearing, two with eyesight difficulties and a diabetic (a person with severe diabetes is regarded as handicapped).

When they come to the vocational training stage they have to split up. The five who are hard of hearing take their lessons en bloc at a trades college for the hard of hearing in Essen.

Before the first three young people with hearing problems joined the mining company's training course in the autumn of 1986, instructors at the Essen establishment made a detailed study of how to advise their charges on the training courses they could take.

The management was well aware that these young people have a very difficult time finding work on the labour market and decided to do all they could to help them.

The Cologne-based Landschaftsverband Rheinland (LVR), a regional government authority, was responsible for getting miners to agree to reserving 20 trainee places in the new training workshop, and earmarked DM400,000 for the project.

The central social welfare office of LVR, responsible for doing everything possible to aid handicapped people to a start in working life, provided 80 per cent of the costs required for essential alterations and extensions to allow them to take up trainees' places.

Klaus Heuser, responsible for the project, said that handicapped people should not be pushed into a corner and placed at a disadvantage, either emotionally, mentally or physically. Efforts should be made to find them "normal" jobs as far as possible.

There are some saddening statistics in the Federal Republic. The Labour Office in Nuremberg has a special department for dealing with the employment problems of the handicapped.

This office reported that in 1985 approximately 115,000 school-leavers took advantage of their advisory services for handicapped young people.

More than half of them had learning difficulties and were without the school-leaving certificate. Only 12,000 of them were able to get a trainee place and 8,000 able to complete their course of training successfully.

Every 40th company with training facilities for young people is now prepared to take on handicapped young people for training, according to a survey conducted by the Cologne-based Social Policy Institute.

This survey also enquired into why handicapped people refused to apply for a training place.

More than half said that the training programmes offered by companies "were not suitable for handicapped people." A quarter had not so far given any consideration to this matter.

A spokesman for the *Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft*, a federal association for helping handicapped people to find work, said that the trainee possibilities had been reduced considerably recently, although the Labour Office provided the necessary funds for conversions that had to be done for handicapped trainees, and in many cases paid up to 60 per cent of monthly wages.

Rolf Bieker said bitterly: "Why should anyone take on the burden of a handicapped person when there are enough skilled people about anyway?"

In 1985 almost 12 per cent of young people seeking a trainee place had the *Hochschulreife*, academic standard required for university entrance. What to do with young people who do not have such high qualifications?

In 1985 there were about 27,000 handicapped school-leavers who were able to train for a job. They had had "basic training" and had done courses to help them.

During the course of a year at the most they were to be prepared in theory and practice to enter the labour market. But within a short space of time spent looking for a training place they realised that they were not guaranteed one.

The 42 *Berufsbildungwerke*, the second programme set up in 1969 for training for handicapped people, reported that all training places had been taken up.

This organisation is mainly concerned with people whose handicap is of such a nature that they can only try for training qualifications of a special kind as set out in vocational training legislation.

They spend from two to four years in a boarding-school type establishment that has its own training workshops. The handicapped people are here trained up to the standards set down by the chambers of commerce and industry, trade organisations and chambers of agriculture. The standards are exactly the same as those demanded of people who are not handicapped.

In 1986 the conference for the rehabilitation of handicapped people said that the chances of getting a job for a handicapped person, trained outside a company, were 20 per cent poorer than a young person who had been trained within a company scheme.

Young people who have obtained qualifications at a school for the handicapped and who had problems primarily with adding up, writing and logical thinking strive to get into vocational training workshops. They account for more than 60 per cent of the number of trainees now.

There is also an increasing number of people in training workshops who have not be able to find a job on the open market although they are able to meet the demands jobs make on them.

Rolf Bieker feared that: "Employers in the private sector do not give much consideration to solving this problem because it involves special facilities."

The *Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft* is *looking for new ways of looking* after handicapped people during their training courses without shunting them, forgotten, into a corner.

In 1980 the Education and Science Ministry drew up a programme for helping disadvantaged young people in training such as secondary school-leavers who had come to grief, young foreigners, young drug-addicts but also young people with learning difficulties. It was of use to 14 per cent of the people involved.

Courses were arranged for them in an intercompany facility. After a year it was presumed that they would join a normal company training course. But this only happened in about a quarter of the cases.

The second point of this aid programme is much more promising. Trainees who had difficulties during the training period would be given a helping hand by extra coaching and personal training by social workers.

The major obstacle for them is usually instruction in the regular vocational schools from which only young trainees who are hard of hearing or who have sight difficulties are exempted because they have their own schools.

About ten per cent of the educationally handicapped break off their training. One in four fails to get through the first tests.

Employers and associations for the handicapped say that more must be done for the handicapped. For a long time there have been many attempts all over the country to improve the lot of these people by encouraging them to use their own initiative.

In Mainz the society for helping physically handicapped people has helped with instructional work on the spot and persuaded companies to take handicapped people in wheelchairs on as trainees.

Aid is provided by the staff of the school for the handicapped, making available people to accompany the handicapped to the toilet for instance.

Many trainees have got ahead with their training. A spokesman for the Mainz organisation said that at the beginning of their project considerable doubt and scepticism was shown.

He continued: "But eventually people regarded it as a challenge and the non-handicapped worked together with the handicapped giving all the help they could."

In Wolfsburg there are specialist teachers in the association for helping handicapped children and young people. Representatives from local companies, the local labour office and the churches have got together to create *trainee places for their charges*.

The Volkswagen factory in Wolfsburg has opened its doors to trainees who are educationally handicapped since 1980 and to the physically handicapped since 1983.

Social workers, educationalists and associations for the handicapped are very much in favour of a scheme that has not yet been put into practice.

The federal association for handicapped young people speaks of "instructor escorts" for handicapped young people.

The idea is that "instructor escorts" would act as a kind of "negotiator," look after the handicapped people during their period of instruction and act as go-between between the handicapped people and employers in cases of difficulty.

The federal association for the support of the educationally handicapped has tried a similar scheme for several years for its school-leavers, providing them with social worker assistance.

The federal institute for vocational training called the person fulfilling this function a "mentor" when it gave consideration to ways of improving the training in companies of handicapped young people at the beginning of the 1980s.

The institute for social research and social policies hovers between the idea of a social work-educationalist and an additional instructor, naming the person "training counsellor."

His task is to ensure that the young handicapped people get through their training courses without mishap.

Rolf Bieker said that frequently there was more prejudice than real difficulties, and prejudice could be dispelled both sides.

Petra Pluwatsch

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 19 February 1988)

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ment in National Socialism was not simple. It was an enormous task trying to understand his Nazi involvement. Heidegger had to be read. To accept ready-made judgments was a way of avoiding provocation.

Heidegger was provocative and irritating and one is always prepared to forgive him that. What remains unforgivable is his shocking silence after 1945 until his death.

He never had the courage to confess his error. Derrida put before his audience an outrageous proposition which he himself said was risky.

Derrida rhetorically asked: If Heidegger had broken his silence what could he have said?

He could have said that Auschwitz was the horror of all horrors. I condemn it. What else could he have said?

Later generations must find for themselves what were the philosophical prerequisites for National Socialism in his writings, insofar as they were more than an ideology for criminals.

He was seductive for a deeply pessimistic generation in whose eyes the middle-class culture was ripe for destruction through Heidegger's "Seinsgeschick."

Man is thrown into time and he has no possibility of deciding anything except what he has to do at the moment.

Lacoue-Labarthe spoke of this. Derrida did not. The audience was made very uneasy, helpless, angry.

Perhaps some got involved in the "strain of expression." Derrida said read for yourself. Hannah Arendt said think for yourself.

Ilse Campling

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 22 February 1988)